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ABSTRACT

Education throughout the world has become increasingly diversified, moving from the traditional education of children to increasingly more education of adults outside formal school settings. This case study on Hungary is one of a series of studies that were conducted to map out the different components of the diversified educational field and analyze their relative importance; to identify the main factors, educational and societal, that are influencing the diversification process; and to examine the role of planning in that process. This study, the first of the series, gives special attention to the discussion of the conceptual issues involved in analyzing the diversification of the educational field. It also illustrates the urgent need to develop a good information base on the wide variety of educational activities taking place outside the formal school system. The book's six chapters describe the following: (1) the concept of educational diversification and its application to the Hungarian context; (2) a glance at Hungary; (3) the regular educational system in Hungary; (4) the first wave of diversification in Hungary--the creation of the system of supplementary education; (5) the second wave of diversification of education--the expansion of nonregular education; and (6) diversification of education and central policy and planning. (KC)

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The diversification of the educational field in Hungary

Péter Inkei
with Gábor Koncz and Gábor Pocze

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International Institute for Educational Planning

This report, directed by Gabriel Carron, IIEP, is part of the Institute's research on 'The diversification of the educational field'.

The diversification of the educational field in Hungary

Péter Inkei

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Preface

There has been a rapid proliferation of non-formal educational programmes over the past few decades, radically altering the contours of the educational field. While the school remains the dominant educational institution in general, it is now by no means the only place where individuals pursue explicit training objectives. A whole range of other educational activities have developed outside of it and play a great variety of roles.

Certain programmes, have emerged as a substitute for school education. Increasingly, though, non-formal education has come to be regarded as important for its own sake, with the growing awareness that the school is no longer capable of satisfying a vast range of increasingly diversified educational needs. This diversification of needs is the direct outcome of the rapid pace of economic, technological and social change in our contemporary societies (requiring continual adaptation on the part of all social actors) and of a gradual broadening of development objectives (which need but go beyond increase of monetary income). In this context, more flexible, more individually-tailored forms of activities than the school can provide have become a necessity, whether these be vocational retraining courses, general education programmes, social and cultural activities, etc. Seen thus, non-formal education is no longer a simple corrective but plays a complementary role.

It follows that the study of educational development and planning can no longer be confined to the fields that fall within the Ministry of Education's (or government ministries in general) sphere of competence. In all countries there is a more or less developed network consisting of a multitude of diverse educational activities, which play different roles and maintain de facto relations of substitution, competition, complementarity and even opposition among themselves. From an organizational viewpoint, however, this network of educational activities in no way constitutes a coherent system, firstly because there is no co-ordination among these different elements, and secondly because there is no overall vision of the directions in which the network as a whole might develop in the future.

Thus the central question to which the Institute wishes to address itself is how educational planning, which was originally designed to forecast the expansion of, and organize the resources for, the school system, may be adapted to this diversification of the educational field and to the resulting

new challenge facing the organization of education in the future. It is this question which the IIEP has taken as the starting point of one of its main research themes in its present 1984-89 Medium-Term Plan.

As part of this research theme a limited number of case studies have been launched, aimed at a better understanding of the forms taken by the diversified field of education in different national contexts. Indeed, while structures and functions of the formal school system are generally known, the world of learning outside the classroom remaines less clear. It shows up in a variety of configurations, neither stable in time nor identical between countries. Furthermore, the fluidity of educational processes outside the formal system makes it difficult for the usual concepts and categories to take hold. Research on the forms of diversification has therefore an important role to play at this juncture: it must provide policy-makers and planners with the necessary tools to deal with the new educational reality.

More specifically, the objectives of these case studies are the following:

- to map out the different components of the diversified educational field and to analyze their relative importance;
- to identify the main factors, educational and societal, which are influencing the diversification process;
- to examine the role of planning in that process.

The present study on Hungary, is the first one of this type. It therefore gives special attention to the discussion of the conceptual issues involved in analyzing the diversification of the educational field. It also illustrates the urgent need to develop a good information base on the wide variety of educational activities taking place outside the formal school system—something which is presently lacking in most countries.

No doubt future case studies will benefit from the methodological groundwork accomplished by the Hungarian research team.

Sylvain Lourié
Director, IIEP

Acknowledgements

This case study is the fruit of team work. The starting point was a short paper presented by Péter Inkei at the IIEP seminar on 'The prospects of educational planning related to contemporary development problems', held in Paris in October 1983. A panel of experts and other forms of consultations followed in Budapest, and Gábor Koncz undertook the collection of data on adult education—for which he received ample help from Mrs. Ylona Erdész. Gábor Pocze then joined in with the theoretical elaboration as well as empirical, fact-finding work on non-regular education. The editing and final wording of the paper was largely the work of Péter Inkei. The involvement on the part of Gabriel Carron, the IIEP co-ordinator of the project, was so extensive (and welcomed by the authors) that he, too, is considered to be part of the team.

At almost every step, the argumentation draws from the works of Hungarian authors. Instead of giving here a long list of works published in the language which is so dear to us and so alien to most of our readers, we wish to pay tribute by simply mentioning the names of those who inspired us the most. In the description of the country's recent history—and its economy—we relied most heavily on the works of Iván T. Berend, József Bognár, János Kornai and Kálmán Kulcsár. In matters of educational and cultural development, our main mentors were Tamás Kozma, Ottó Mihály and Iván Vitányi. Concerning the analysis of different aspects of the Hungarian educational system we are greatly indebted to Gábor Halász, Péter Lukács, Géza Sáska, András Révész and Sándor Varga.

Finally, we would like to thank Otto Mihály, Director of the Országos Pedagógiai Intézet and Miklós Szabolcsi, General Director, for their administrative support.

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1. The concept of educational diversification and its application to the Hungarian context

1.1 We are witnesses, the world over, to the increasing growth and popularity of types of education and learning that are *different* in form and structure from the traditional, regular school and university system. This process is called diversification.

In the present study, we assume the task of describing the general trends observed in the diversification of education in Hungary and its different components. We will analyze the determinants behind the diversification process and shall attempt to draw some conclusions regarding educational policy and planning.

We consider diversification to be a historical process determined by other historical processes; we hope to outline the above-mentioned general trends by examining these processes. One limitation of our undertaking is that the very facts regarding the diversification of education which are the most exciting for us theoretically are those which are also the most difficult to illustrate statistically. The reason for this is that official statistical data collection concentrates mainly on the regular school and university system, and the eventual efforts in data collection outside the school system (e.g. in the case of adult education) usually follow the same pattern.

1.2 In our approach, we use three main categories of education and learning. We regret that—as far as we know—they are not the same as those used in any other common definition system. We did not set out to create a new theory when we began preparing our national case study. However, in the course of our work we felt it necessary to single out two categories we have never encountered in other theoretical systems—*supplementary education* and *non-regular education*.

For the sake of better comprehension of the concepts used in the study we have defined them against the background of the most widely-known and accepted classification—that developed by Coombs—as well as the terms of reference of ISCED.

P.H. Coombs introduced his classification scheme in 'The World

Educational Crisis'[1] and further developed it in his subsequent publications.[2] His taxonomy distinguishes three forms of education; formal, non-formal and informal. According to Coombs, *formal education* is an "institutionalized, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured educational system, running from lower primary school to the upper reaches of university", generally full-time and sanctioned by the state. *Non-formal education* comprises educational activities organized outside the formal system and is designed to serve identifiable clientèles and educational objectives. All remaining learning activities belong to the category of *informal education*, "the lifelong process by which every person acquires and accumulates knowledge, skills, attitudes and insight from daily experiences and exposure to the environment."[3] In regards to this last category, P. Furter (1977) proposed the term 'widespread education' (éducation diffuse).[4]

Thomas J. La Belle added a new dimension to the Coombs taxonomy, whereby each of the three forms of education—called, in La Belle's terms, *modes* of education—may (or may not) possess the same number of *characteristics*.[5] Thus, a specific case of formal education (e.g. a type of secondary school) may include non-formal characteristics (e.g. extra-curricular activity) and informal ones (e.g. per group processes).

In 1975, the Office of Statistics of Unesco established the system known as the International Standard Classification of Education, or ISCED.[6] Their manual for the collection of adult education statistics elaborates at length on problems of classification.[7] The area which seems to be identical with Coombs' *formal education* is labelled, in the ISCED system,

1 P.H. Coombs, *The world educational crisis: a systems analysis*, New York, Oxford university Press, 1968.

2 P.H. Coombs, R.C. Prosser, M. Ahmed, *New paths to learning for rural children and youth*, New York, Unicef, 1973.

3 Op. cit., pp. 9-13.

4 P. Furter, *The planner and lifelong education*, , Paris, Unesco/IIEP, 1977, p. 22.

5 T.J. La Belle, 'Formal, non-formal and informal education: holistic perspective on lifelong learning' in *International review of education*, vol. 28, no. 2, 1982, pp. 159-175.

6 Unesco, Office of Statistics, *International standard classification of education*, Paris, 1976 (COM/ST/ISCED).

7 Unesco, Office of Statistics, *Manual for statistics on adult education*, Paris, 1985 (ST-85/WS/14)

regular education, defined as "the system that provides a 'ladder' by which children and young people may progress from primary schools through universities (although they may drop out along the way). The term 'universities' is, in this context, assumed to include all institutions of higher education (e.g. junior colleges and teacher-training colleges). Regular education is thus designed and intended for children and young people generally from age 5 to 7 up to the early twenties (although in some circumstances older students are accommodated along with their younger colleagues)". Other educational activities which comprise "organized and sustained communication designed to bring about learning"[8] (this is the ISC definition of learning) are called *out-of-school* or *adult* education. The different categories of informal learning fall short of this definition and are not therefore considered as education.

ISCED also distinguishes between formal and non-formal education, but in a different way than Coombs. ISCED calls formal any educational activity in which students are enrolled or registered. Many forms of Coombs' non-formal category meet this demand: thus the *formal* domain used by ISCED is broader than Coombs'.

In this paper, we have borrowed the ISCED term *regular education*, keeping a meaning which we believe, coincides with Coombs' notion of formal education. We call *supplementary education* those areas of non-formal (in Coombs' terms) mostly out-of-school and adult education, which have been created to supplement regular formal education *within the sphere of the prevalent strategy and planning of education*. For our purposes, the rest of out-of-school education—whether non-formal or informal—belongs to a different category, namely, forms of education that were not established as a linear extension of regular formal education and in whose development traditional educational policy and planning played little or no role whatsoever. This remaining area will be called ***non-regular education***. The category used by ISCED, 'which regroups all kinds of 'registered' education, appears to be useful, but instead of the name 'formal', which creates confusion with Coombs' terminology, we sometimes use the term 'organized education'.

Figure 1 illustrates the three areas of educational activity and their relation to the previously mentioned classification systems. Thus, the term 'diversification of education' refers to the spread of the activities belonging to supplementary and non-regular education. It is important to note that the basis of this kind of classification and labelling is the relationship to the regular school system on the one hand and to official educational policy and planning on the other.

[8] Unesco, Office of Statistics, *International standard classification of education*, pp. 17-20.

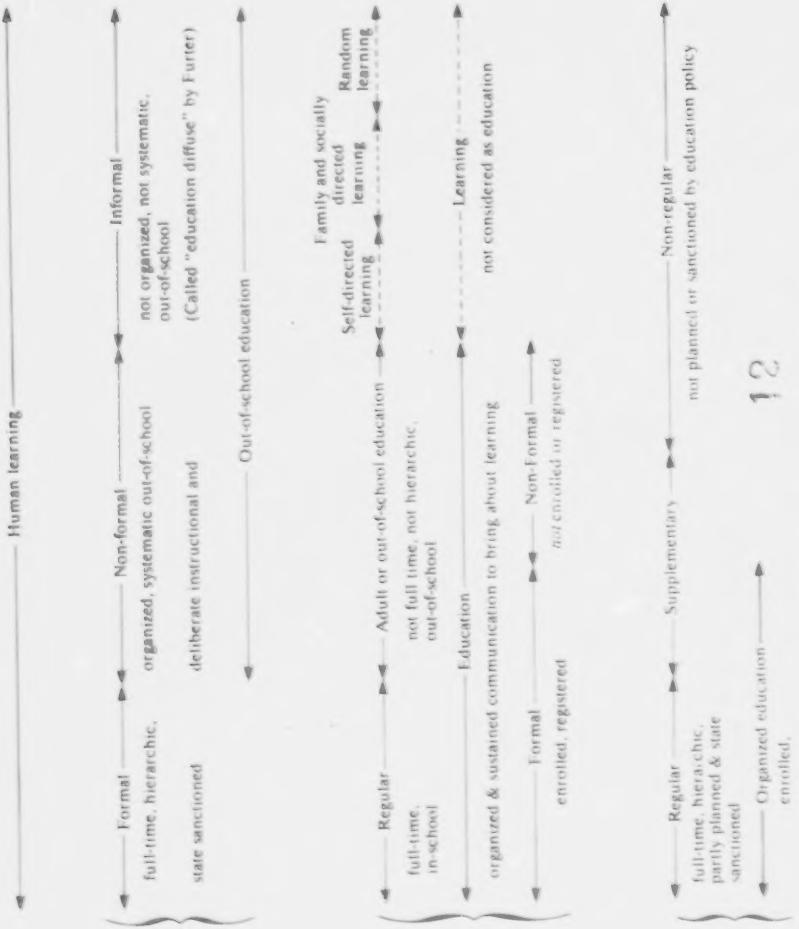


Figure 1: The interrelationship between the different classification systems

The most widespread interpretation of the diversification of education relates it more or less to the spread of non-formal, out-of-school education. Within this framework, we wish to deal separately with those forms which have originally been created and are functioning with the expressed aim of supplementing the regular system of education and those forms that are not. Regular and supplementary education are the direct and less direct manifestations of the very same educational policy. Our analysis is made easier by the fact that in Hungary in the past century the governments in power have always had definite, explicit educational policies. We believe, however, that our observations may also be relevant in those societies where the terms 'educational policy' and 'planning' can be used only figuratively and implicitly.

We consider the rapid expansion in the third area, called non-regular education, to be worthy of increased attention. Under this title can be found all those types of teaching and learning that exist alongside regular and supplementary education. They are created either by enterprises or individual civic spontaneous activity, or by market mechanisms—and to satisfy learning demands that are not met by the regular and supplementary forms of education. In this sense, they too are 'supplementary', but while, for example, in the case of adult school education we wish to stress the *supplementation* of the regular system, here, by using the negative term (non-regular), we wish to emphasize the *opposition* to the established, regular *system* of education—although not necessarily with its regular *nature* (or formal characteristics) (La Belle). This clearly has nothing to do with ideological or political opposition.

In the domain of non-regular education, we include informal education, which is entirely excluded from the ISCED system, and perhaps we place greater emphasis on this than does Coombs. A significant proportion of non-regular education is made up of very traditional teaching-learning processes, most of which are part of primary socialization. But clearly, it is the more modern aspects of non-regular education which deserve special attention, and which we will discuss at greater length in this study.

Figure 2 gives a graphic representation of our classification system. It is obvious that the distinction between 'supplementary' and 'non-regular' is not always easy to discern. Firstly, because as we shall try to prove, one important development within the supplementary sphere has been a shift from the formal to the non-formal; by becoming less formal, such systems necessarily become less regular as well. Consequently, the boundaries between supplementary and non-regular are by no means clear-cut.

Two relatively large sectors may cause special concern in the Hungarian context. One of them is the sector of programmes organized in cultural centres. This system is a conscious creation of educational policy, and is supplementary to the regular school system. However, the content of these programmes—especially in the last decade—has been shaped by the users to such an extent that it is now difficult to consider them as the

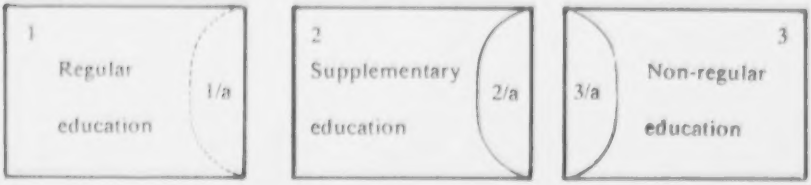


Figure 2: The classification system

direct result of a monolithic cultural strategy, as was the case in the past. This is represented by the area 2/a in *Figure 2*. The other problematic area is 3/a. In this case we have in mind those vocational courses which are organized outside the school system but which issue qualifications compatible with and equivalent to school qualifications. Sometimes the regular system may even be directly involved, as in the case of the organization of the examinations. But the autonomy of the enterprises regarding both the number, type and content of the courses is so great that these courses should be included in the non-regular group.

Furthermore, the concept of diversification could also be extended to some *internal* developments that take place within the regular school system. One such development is the diversification of educational programmes (the introduction of new options) and types of institutions. A different aspect of internal diversification is the relative growth of non-formal and informal educational characteristics in the school (e.g. pupil-centred teaching arrangements). For the sake of completeness, these processes are indicated in *Figure 2* as area 1/a: the broken line is meant to express that—unlike 2/a and 3/a—it is not a domain which can be separated from the rest of the box. It is a feature which—when it exists—more or less characterizes regular education as a whole.

1.3 It is on the basis of this conceptual framework that the process of diversification of Hungarian education shall be presented here. The presentation is divided into two major parts which represent *two great waves of diversification* between 1945 and 1985. In the first wave, from 1945 to around 1975, the main accent was on the rapid development of supplementary education. This process, at its peak, grew to be part of the worldwide movement and ideology of lifelong education. The second wave has been characterized by a weakening of formal (i.e. school-like) characteristics of the supplementary educational system as well as by the gains made by non-regular education.

The viewpoint taken in this study is that of the national planner and administrator of education. It is from their perspective that the concepts of supplementary and non-regular education have been defined and the waves of events described. We shall conclude with lessons to be drawn from this same angle. Although this is a national case study, our ambition is to be able to communicate to planners and administrators in other countries, where geography, history, cultural traditions and political and economic structures are very different from our own.

The present case study does not touch upon education within the framework of political organizations (such as the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, youth and child movements), trade unions or similar institutions. The reason for this is mainly technical—data have not always been systematically collected, or else are not normally available to the public. We regret this omission, especially since regular, political training within these institutions is one of the most characteristic areas of the teaching-learning system of a socialist society. The more recent and flexible forms of activity of these institutions (especially those of the youth organizations) are, furthermore, components of the wave of diversification bringing non-regular education to the fore. For somewhat similar reasons we shall not include the educational activities of the churches—outside formal regular education.

The basic sources of offical statistic data were Hungarian yearbooks, published by the Central Statistical Office or by the Ministry for Education. Our statistical analysis begins in 1949 (the first school year after nationalization) and goes up to 1984 (the last year for which we have data for the whole country). The most recent data available from a national census are from 1980.

Two volumes have been published recently in English containing statistical data pertaining to our present subject.[9] The interested reader can also find up-to-date statistics in the Hungarian reports to the sessions of the International Conference on Education in Geneva.[10]

[9] *Adult Education in Hungary, 1970-1980*, ed. by G. Vukovich, Budapest, Central Statistical Office, 1982; *Education and Cultural Conditions in Hungary, 1960-1980*, Central Statistical Office, Budapest, 1983.

[10] *Development of Education, 1981-1983*, ed. by P. Inkei, Budapest, Hungarian National Commission for Unesco, 1983.

2. A glance at Hungary

2.1 Hungary is a landlocked country in Eastern Europe. Almost half of its area of 93,000 square kilometres is flat, the rest is slightly hilly, with mountains of medium height; only one peak is higher than 1,000 metres. The country is bisected in the middle by the Danube, one of the longest rivers of Europe. (See Figure 3).

Hungary is not rich in mineral resources; however, there is enough oil, lignite, coal and uranium to limit somewhat energy imports. The main natural resource of the country is its arable soil that, together with a moderate continental climate, has favoured the development of agriculture. Its achievements are decreased by the all-too-frequent years of drought.

In the 9th century, the steppe tribes of the Magyars (Hungarians) occupied the region that constitutes the middle of present-day Hungary. The Hungarian language is completely different from most other European languages. Hungary's history, the changes in the size and composition of the population and the role Hungary played in European history were greatly influenced by the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241, by the almost-150 years of Turkish occupation in the 16th and 17th century and by the fact that Hungary struggled for survival within the Austrian Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries and as part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy from 1867 until the end of World War I. Within the monarchy, Hungary was a multinational state where in the 19th century the mother tongue of half of the population was Hungarian, and the native languages of the rest of the people were German, Slovakian, Romanian, Croatian, Serbian, Ukrainian and others. In the course of the redistribution of Europe after World War I, independent national states developed, replacing the collapsed Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and Hungary was cut to one-third of its former size. Thus, it ceased to be a multinational state, with a third of the Hungarian-speaking population finding themselves outside the present political borders.

The country was liberated from German occupation during World War II by the Soviet Red Army. In the course of the political and social transformation which followed, the conditions of a socialist-type of social reproduction developed, characterized by public ownership of the decisive majority of the means of production, and by state control of the system of institutions carrying out public services. The system of management is that

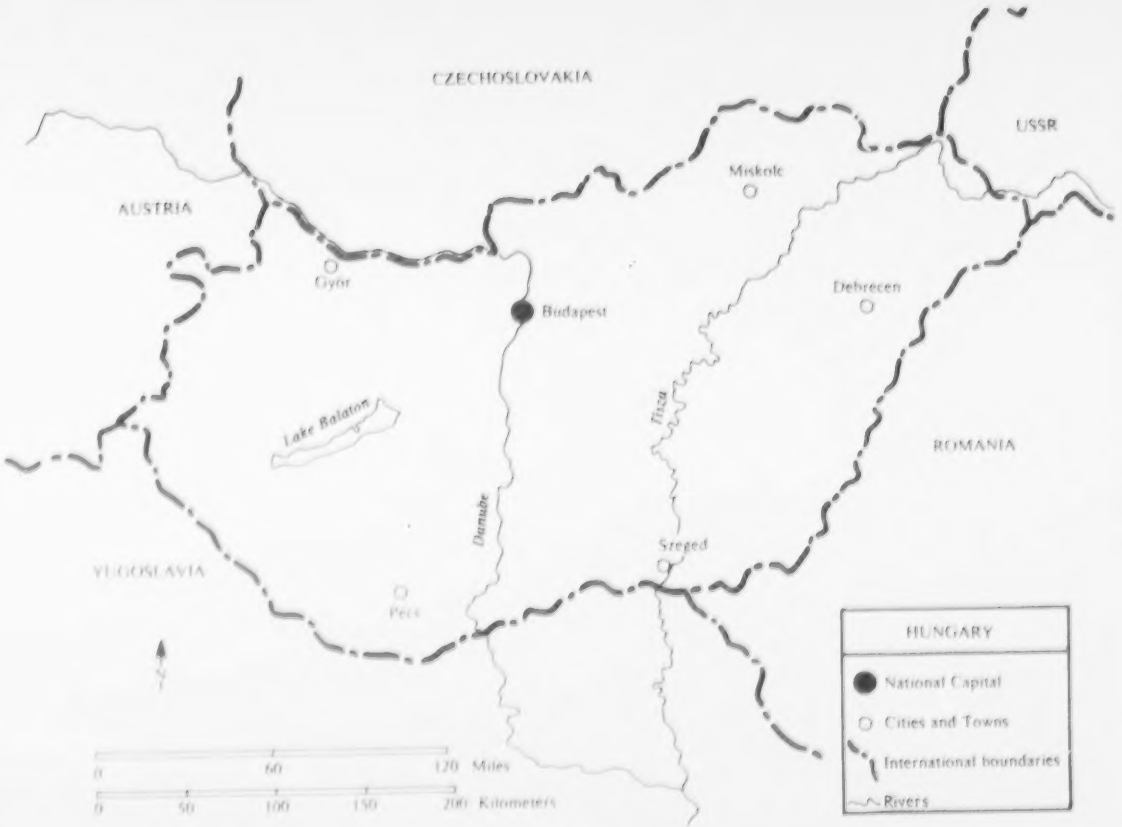


Figure 3: Map of Hungary

of a planned economy. The country's form of government is a People's Republic, where the most important factor of power and politics is the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the country's only party. The basic characteristic of the international relations is determined by the fact that Hungary belongs to the Warsaw Pact and to Comecon.

2.2 On 1 January 1984, the population of Hungary was 10.6 million people, whose mother tongue is—apart from a few exceptions—Hungarian. The density of the population was 115 persons per square kilometre. More than 2 million people, or 19.3 per cent of the population, lived in Budapest, the capital, while 35.4 per cent lived in towns and 45.3 per cent in villages or other settlements. In 1984, 46.3 per cent of the population were active wage-earners, 22.4 per cent were inactive earners, 16.7 per cent were students and 14.6 per cent were other dependents. The distribution of active earners by branch of the national economy is shown in *Table 1*, the sources of national income are shown in *Table 2*, and the structure of foreign trade is shown in *Table 3*. It is clear from the Tables that, in addition to the moderately developed industrial and agricultural sectors of the economy, the role of the tertiary sector, that of services, is becoming more and more important. It also becomes clear from a comparison of export and import that the energy and raw material requirements of the Hungarian economy are covered mainly by the export of machine-industrial and agricultural products.

Table 1: Active earners by branch of the national economy (in percentages)

	1970	1984
Industry, construction	43.7	38.7
Agriculture, forestry and water-works and supply	25.5	23.3
Transport and communication	7.3	8.0
Trade	7.9	10.2
Personal and economic services	2.8	4.2
Health, social and cultural services	7.7	11.1
Administrative, communal and other services	5.1	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: *Statisztikai Evkonyv*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, yearly

Table 2: Distribution of national income by kind of activity (in percentages)

	1975	1980	1983
Industry	42	44	45
Construction	11	12	12
Agriculture	21	19	19
Trade	15	14	14
Total	100	100	100

Source: Ibid.

Table 3: Commodity structure of foreign trade, 1983 (in percentages)

	Imports	Exports
Energy	21.8	8.4
Raw materials, semi-products	45.7	28.7
Machinery	16.5	25.7
Industrial consumer goods	8.7	14.2
Agricultural products and the food industry	7.3	23.0
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Ibid.

Table 4: International tourism (thousands)

	1975	1980	1983
Foreigners visiting Hungary	9 404	13 996	10 463
Hungarians travelling abroad	3 477	5 164	4 754

Source: Ibid.

The openness of the economy is indicated by the fact that in 1983 Hungary imported goods from 101 countries and exported to 142 countries. More than half of the import-export trade is with socialist countries, 12-13 per cent with developing countries and 33-34 per cent with the developed capitalist countries. Openness to tourism (and at the same time the relationship between tourism and the economic recession of the early 1980s) is shown in *Table 4*. *Table 5* reflects the stock of some durable consumer goods per 100 households, showing some characteristics of the standard of living in Hungary.

Table 5: Stock of durable consumer goods per 100 households

	1975	1980	1983
Refrigerator	67	87	97
Washing machines	79	91	95
Passenger cars	15	26	32
Television sets	81	99	105
Radio sets	121	142	154

Source: Ibid.

From the second half of the 19th century, the Hungarian economy has been characterized by rapid capitalist transformation and capital concentration on the one hand, and by a system of large estates still intact on the other—a bourgeois development with a feudal accent. The lack of capital, also perceptible in Hungary, is reflected, among other things, in the relative backwardness of the infrastructure.

The socialist transformation after 1945 led to rapid industrialization. This industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture was accompanied by great regional and social mobility. In the 1950s resources were focused on finding solutions to a few basic problems. The method used was the directive planning of the economy, with centralization of political and economic power. At that time, the politicians expected much from the 'imported' model of the directive planning of the economy, because the free competition model of the previous economic system had been disappointing in a society which was deficient in funds and where bourgeois mentality was poorly developed. The chief aim during the 1950s was to step up the rate of industrialization in the country. As the slogan of the period said: "Let's become a country of iron and steel!"

2.3 The policy pursued in the early 1950s led to the tragic political crisis of 1956. The more realistic political direction of the following years, within

conditions of a favourable international climate and a prospering world economy achieved internal political consolidation and successfully accomplished the tasks of the industrial transformation and accelerated urbanization of the country. This programme was combined with the qualitative development of the agricultural sector.

However, beginning in the early 1960s, the limits of the extensive development strategy were beginning to be felt: certain key processes slowed down, and various kinds of shortages persisted. Underdeveloped infrastructure and the low level of public consumption became a bottleneck of social development in general. Thus, further quantitative development of the economy was accompanied by increased tension, related to the low quality of social and economic progress.

Drawing from the widest possible circle of specialists and supported by the public, the Party prepared an economic reform programme. This programme began in 1968 with the introduction of the so-called 'new economic mechanism'—an economic policy and system of management aiming at increasing the efficiency of social production. With the change of the planning system, certain market mechanisms were explicitly recognized while interests of enterprises and individuals and indirect regulation—as opposed to the previous hierarchic directions of the Plan—came to the fore. The reform process, which took renewed impetus after 1979, made the economy more dynamic, stimulated the social reform thinking that continues to inspire the most different segments of the social reproduction system, from the economy to artistic life, from the education sector to the institutionalized system of political life.

In the 1970s the standard of living continued to rise while a large foreign debt accumulated, partly due to unfavourable developments in international exchange rates. The attempts to keep up the standard of living and to overcome problems with the efficiency in the socially-organized sector of the economy increased the role of working overtime as well as of working outside the state economy (second economy). These became sources of material growth, but also of new tensions in daily life.

By the 1970s, practically all of the demographic resources available for an extensive development had been exhausted. Manpower flow from agriculture slowed down; any further decrease would endanger the hitherto remarkable development of that sector. Shortage of manpower was also due to the relatively low retirement age in Hungary (60 for men and 55 for women). The general health status, which falls short of our ideal, as well as certain phenomena of age-specific mortality are also negatively affecting the manpower reserves.

The latest period is characterized by problems connected with international solvency, the unfavourable development of exchange rates and unfavourable demographic trends on the one hand and by renewed reform endeavours on the other. The latter efforts tend to put the emphasis on the combination of the hegemony of social property and the individual spirit of enterprise within the framework of a controlled market.

Of all the present reform processes, the policy of allowing considerable room for private initiative has received the greatest attention both in Hungary and abroad. This has first of all meant the rapid growth of the so-called second economy—in Hungary this term covers all sorts of economic activities outside the sphere of the state economy and the co-operatives, that is, outside the socialist sector. These activities are all legal (the illegal, tax-elusive, criminal etc. actions are labelled the third economy) and sometimes they are directly supported by the state or the units of the socialist sector. Traditional sectors of the second economy are the family plots of agricultural workers as well as the small businesses of private artisans and shop-keepers. After 1979, the number of these was allowed to grow and many new forms of this economic activity came into existence. Some forms combine state ownership with individual undertaking. Collectively they are called 'small enterprises'.

The spread of the small enterprises has no doubt made its mark on the economic and social face of Hungary, including even the way the streets look. The large number of private taxis and colourful small new shops strikes the eye. However, the real essence of the reform is that the same enterprising spirit and individual initiative is encouraged in the socialist sector as well, which is by any account the source of well over 90 per cent of the national income. The main instruments of the new economic policy are the complicated tax system, credit policies, wage regulations, etc. With the gradual removal of the artificial excesses of the earlier pricing system, the enterprises are put in direct contact with the market forces, both domestic and international. During the reform, Hungary has had to cope with the reinterpretation of such basic notions of a socialist economy as planning, socialist property, managerial responsiblity, ministerial versus self-direction, etc.

One of the central goals of the reform has been to intensify technological development and innovation. The new kind of economic regulation of the socialist sector has been able to eliminate a number of obstacles to quick and varied technological innovation processes. Given the overall shortage of capital this possibility has not so far led to spectacular development. Indeed, the technological level of our economy is very uneven. The agriculture has, in consecutive stages, worked its way to the first line of international development—although not sufficiently cost-effective, some yields are among the best in the world, especially in certain large-scale production systems (chickens, corn, pork, etc.). In industry, both the level of automation and the number of computers integrated in the production is rather low, with a few exceptions—such as bus manufacturing, the pharmaceutical industry, aluminium production, etc. The large, and in some aspects radical changes that have occurred in the Hungarian economy have thus far not brought about a decisive technological restructuring. The initial successes of this latest reform wave are the fruits of better management and organization, of more appropriate incentives and a more direct interaction with the market.

2.4 The 'natural' path of progressing from feudalism to capitalism and then to the subsequent social formations—as presented in today's Hungarian scientific social thinking—would involve co-ordinated, intertwined development of material, social and cultural factors; and this would take place as a process of self-development, barring dramatic effects coming from the outside. But this kind of *organic development* is not given to many nations, certainly not in Central Europe. In reality, Hungarian development was characterized by delays and disruptions, by being pushed to the periphery by periods of closing up and their destabilizing effects, i.e. by the symptoms of *inorganic historical development.*

The centuries-long struggle for a more equitable social order, and a more effective reproduction of the nation's wealth as well as a higher degree of culture and civilization—closely related with a quest for national sovereignty—has taken different forms. The early forms of bourgeois development—protestantism, enlightenment, national romanticism, liberalism, the industrial revolution and accumulation of capital—gradually gave way to the movements of the working class. The last period is characterized by marked industrialization and urbanization and a total restructuring of the society as results of a socialist revolution. During recent years a wave of in-depth economic and social transformation has been taking place. These transformations include intensification of production, introduction of high technology into every aspect of life, and further democratization of the society.

The common denominator of all these processes, spanning about 300 years, is *modernization*, a recurring, central category in today's Hungarian social sciences. Modernization is a relatively broad concept, expressing the evolution of the whole society. Recently the adjective 'modern' has undeniably lost the pleasant ting it had in the 1950s and 1960s. Although our social thinkers are aware of this, they still use this expression in the following sense: modernization is the interpretation of social reality, which considers the constant intensive development of the economy as the pivot of development in general, while giving full consideration to the context of social institutions, values and personal characteristics in which this development is embedded. Obviously this term is used as a broad umbrella concept in Hungarian social sciences which is very different from the meaning given to it in western empirical research. The long-range political programme set for Hungarian society, and based on the Marxist system of ideas, aims at bringing modernization to a self-supporting level, i.e. it should become the most important factor of further development.

3. The regular educational system in Hungary

3.1 The foundations of modern Hungarian public education were established some 120 years ago in the course of bourgeois development; the first comprehensive law of public education of the Hungarian state regulated the aims of public education, its legal status (defining it as a State system), and defined the rights and duties of the State, the churches and the villages to maintain schools. As part of this Act, the State made provisions for public schools in locations where the financial strength of the parishes or of the local administration did not make it possible. The State supported the schools of the churches as well as those of the villages.

Because of the underdeveloped economy and capital-accumulating processes, and in spite of the spirit of the law foreshadowing progress, this law could only be enforced in the 1930s. The main areas of State expansion at that time were in the building of schools, standardizing and regulating qualifications, and monitoring compulsory school attendance. Thus, it is interesting to note that the effects of both a deliberate educational policy and delays determined by objective circumstances acted in this evolution.

The typical duration of education in the 1930s was—depending on the individual's social position—either six grades in the elementary school, or four elementary grades plus four grades in the higher elementary school. Ten to twelve per cent of the corresponding age group of the population had the possibility to graduate from secondary schools, and 4-6 per cent could enroll in universities. The most popular studies were those relating to the legal profession.

The law making school attendance compulsory for eight school years—from age 6 to 14—was passed during World War II, in 1941. This law, however, was enforced only after the creation of the general school of eight grades in 1945 and the nationalization of schools in 1948. (Since the 1961 education law, the age limit of compulsory school attendance has been extended to 16). Within the socialist cultural transformation—called at that time the 'cultural revolution'—the nationalization of schools established the foundations of today's school system, further developed by a whole series of reforms. The changes before and after the nationalization attempted to transform the content and structure of the educational system

that had evolved between 1919 and 1939 into a system of education that would fully serve the needs of socialist transformation.

The evolution of the school system thus exemplifies, with its successes and delays, the inorganic historical development described earlier. This explains why maximal efforts are required almost continuously by the school system to achieve its social aims. At the same time, this is why education is bound to periodically become the object of national attention and sacrifices.

The school system and the number of students in the 1982-83 school year are illustrated in *Figure 4*. Behind this seemingly static picture lies the reality of more than three decades of rapid growth and development.

Table 6 shows the growth of the system since 1950, as expressed in the number of students. Some of the changes are spectacular: e.g. the quadrupling of kindergarten between 1950 and 1980, the trebling of general secondary and 4-year vocational school enrolment between 1950 and 1970, and the quadrupling of 3-year vocational school during the same period. However, the pace of growth slowed down after 1970 and, for certain levels of education, an absolute reduction occurred by 1980 and continued afterwards, due largely to the very low birthrate of the 1960s.

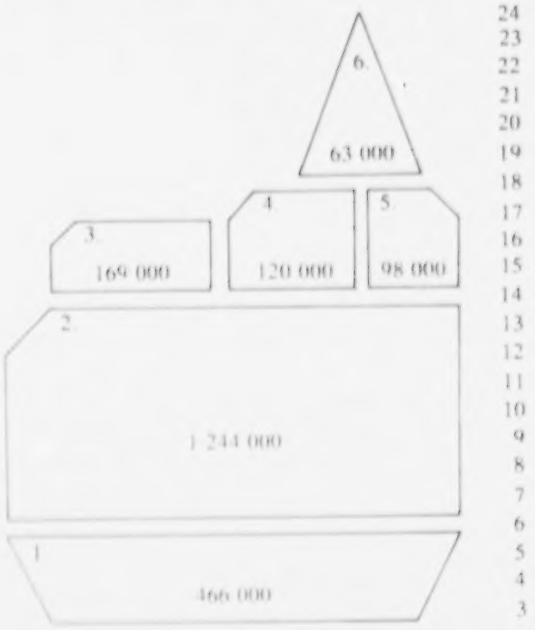
As a result of education within the framework of the regular system, the schooling of 6 to 13 year olds reached a rate of 95-96 per cent, in the beginning of the 1960s, increasing to 98-99 per cent in the subsequent years. In 1980-81, 99.1 per cent of those in this age group were enrolled in school.

Of the age group finishing the general school, 90-95 per cent enroll in some kind of secondary school and about 70 per cent of them leave the school system with a certificate from a secondary day school.

As shown in *Table 7*, 44.7 per cent (in 1975) and 46.3 per cent (in 1975) of those continuing their education enrolled in secondary schools issuing secondary school-leaving certificates, i.e. 4-year general secondary or vocational secondary schools.

There are in fact, two kinds of vocational schools in Hungary. The first kind (2 or 3 years) offers one base-level qualification, together with some general education. The second (4 years),which is the older kind, is geared to secondary-level vocational training, which also entails the acquisition of general culture at the secondary level. The latent rivalry between the two kinds of schools has led to the creation of another type of vocational secondary schools adding on a fifth year and providing a technician's degree. (For the time being, this is on an experimental basis).

Base-level vocational training leads to the acquisition of a 'Skilled Worker's Certificate'. At present, the 'National Register of Skilled Worker Training' (OSzJ) lists 185 occupations, with further subdivisions. Primarily, this certificate is acquired through the 2- or 3-year vocational schools . However, there are 38 occupational branches (again with further subdivisions) for which training is provided in the 4-year vocational secondary



1. The 3-year Kindergarten

2. The 8-year General School ("által21nos iskola")

3. The 3-year Vocational (Appendice) Schools ("szakmunkásképzo")
(The 2-year schools for typists and 3-year schools for nurses,
often figuring separately, are included throughout the text,
and in figures and tables in the category of 3-year Vocational Schools)

4. The 4-year Vocational Secondary School ("szakközépiskola")

5. The 4-year General Scondary School ("gimnazium")

6. Higher Education, taking various forms and durations

Source: Development of Education 1981-1983, Budapest, 1983.

Figure 4: **Enrolment in the different levels of full-time regular education, 1982/83**

Table 6: Number of students in regular school system (in thousands)

	Kinder-gartens	General schools	3-year vocational schools	4-year vocational secondary schools	4-year general secondary schools	Higher education
1950	106.3	1,237.9	56.8	46.5	49.2	26.5
1960	183.7	1,433.1	125.3	47.2	108.2	29.3
1970	227.2	1,153.4	223.2	110.3	122.9	53.8
1980	478.1	1,199.6	162.6	113.8	89.4	64.0

Source : *Education and Cultural Conditions in Hungary, 1960-1980*, Budapest, 1983

Note: The figures of students of the general school include the schools for handicapped as well as the so-called 'schools for further training' (*továbbképzo*), a 1- or 2-year school for those who have not completed the 8th form by 14 years of age. In 1960 enrolment in those schools was over 23,000; after 1975 enrolment was below 1,000. This note applies to all Tables and Figures in the text.

schools, either exclusively or in parallel with the short cycle, 3-year schools. Besides the OSzJ, there are additional officially-registered base-level occupations which can only be acquired on-the-job at the enterprises.

The possibility of studying in institutes of higher education is open to all those who have taken their final examination at any type of secondary school; others may seek to enroll in different types of supplementary education leading to a specific qualification. However, those participating in 3-year vocational training receive no secondary school-leaving certificate (and their number in a cohort has during the last two decades surpassed those attending a full 4-year secondary school) and require additional education and retraining in order to obtain a full secondary school-leaving certificate. Ultimately, about 11-12 per cent of a corresponding age group enrols in the day courses of institutes of higher education.

Our data regarding the educational level of the population (*Table 8*) comes from the last national census of 1980, which only considers completed studies. In the Table, graduates of general schools are those who have successfully completed the 8th form of the general school. The graduates of secondary schools are those who have taken their final examination or, since 1976, successfully completed the 4th form. University graduates are those who have obtained a diploma.

In *Table 8* the number of pupils graduated from the 8-year general schools includes students graduating from secondary schools and from universities (because education in the general school is a compulsory prerequisite for this), and the number of graduates of secondary schools

	Those successfully completing 8th class		Those continuing studies in 2 or 3-year vocational school	Those continuing studies in 4-year vocational sec. sch.	Those continuing studies in General secondary school	Total	
1960	107.3	(100%)	34.0 (31.7%)	14.5 (13.6%)	31.5 (29.3%)	80.0	(74.6%)
1970	165.6	(100%)	71.7 (43.3%)	29.3 (17.7%)	30.6 (18.5%)	131.6	(79.5%)
1975	121.9	(100%)	54.6 (44.9%)	29.4 (24.2%)	25.0 (20.5%)	109.0	(89.6%)
1980	119.8	(100%)	56.0 (46.8%)	31.2 (26.0%)	24.3 (20.3%)	111.5	(93.1%)

Source : Statisztikai Tájékoztató, Muvelódési Minisztétirum, Budapest, yearly

Table 7. Continuation of studies from the 8-year general school (in thousands)

Table 8: Percentage of the population having graduated from different levels of education

Year	15 years+ The general school			18 years+ The secondary school			25 years+ Universities and Colleges		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1949	21.9	19.5	20.6	8.6	3.6	5.9	3.5	0.6	1.9
1960	34.5	31.3	32.8	12.0	6.6	9.1	4.7	1.2	2.8
1970	55.1	48.0	51.4	18.2	13.9	15.9	6.5	2.4	4.3
1980	71.1	61.6	66.4	24.4	22.4	23.4	8.6	4.6	6.5

Source : *Népszámlálási Adatok*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, 1982

evidently includes that of university graduates. The proportion of illiterates among the population of 10-year olds or older remained below 5 per cent as early as 1949. It can furthermore be seen in *Table 8* that in 1980, 66 per cent of the 15-year or older generation successfully finished the general school. The proportion of secondary school graduates creased from 5.9 per cent in 1949 to 23.4 per cent in 1980. Furthermore, in 1980 17.8 per cent of the 15-49 year old population had completed training in 2- or 3-year vocational schools.

The ratio of university and college graduates among the population of 25 years or older increased from 1.9 per cent in 1949 to 6.5 per cent in 1980. (The average ratio among the 25-39 year old population is 10 per cent). Their total number is more than four times greater than it was thirty years ago.

As for secondary school and university students, in spite of the fact that the number and ratio of women increased at a much faster rate than that of men, the educational level of men in 1980 was still somewhat higher than that of women. In the age group under 40, however, more women than men graduated from secondary schools. Of the 20-34 year old population, one-third of the men and 43 per cent of the women graduated from secondary schools. On the other hand, in the 25-39 year age group, more men than women have university qualifications. It is important to note here that the above figures on the educational levels of the population—some of which are contained in *Table 8*—are not only the result of the rapid expansion of the regular school system but also reflect the considerable contribution of adult education, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

However, even at the cost of certain compromises such as the double shift system, increase in pupil-teacher ratio, etc. the infrastructures were inadequate to serve the quantitative expansion of enrolments accelerated by the emphasis placed on education and culture within the socialist political transformation. Even today the situation is characterized by relatively poor infrastructural conditions. We emphasize the word *relatively*, since we relate the supply to the expressed needs and official standards. In relation to many other countries, our educational infrastructure might pass as quite satisfactory. The same applies if we compare the present situation to that prevailing at earlier stages of development.

3.2 In Chapter 1 we referred to the fact that the diversification process taking place inside the regular school system can be related to the out-of-school diversification of education, i.e. to the 'diversification proper'. We shall therefore now take a quick look at the diversification of the institutions and programmes of the school system. As we shall see, this internal diversification (which in educational terminology corresponds to specialization) has in certain fields taken on a cyclical character.

It is clear in Hungary and elsewhere that the economy today requires a strong basic general education that offers a wide range of knowledge, which can extend in a wide variety of vocational and personal directions. In addition to the strengthening of general basic education, vocational training as such should also have strong foundations, and gradually lead to a degree of specialization, which will allow the school leaver to adapt to future occupational changes.

In 1946, at the first session of the National Council for Industrial Training, the perspective described above was not yet considered an educational truism. However, the push for specialization was stronger, and by 1954 92 types of industrial, economic and agricultural secondary schools were operating. This number was somewhat decreased the following year. From 1960, however, a partial vocational education, within the framework of the general secondary schools, was started in 249 occupations. (This is known as the 5+1 reform, where the students of the secondary schools participated in pre-vocational training one day each week). This large number of options has been reduced since 1965; however, the number of specializations in vocational training proper increased, as new technologies creating new training needs appeared in the economy.

Similar phenomena can be observed in the related field of manpower planning. The quoted figure of 185 vocations presently recognized in the OSzJ is the result of drastic reductions in the number of officially-recognized vocational specializations. The ideology behind this reduction was stated at the beginning of this Section. (We shall not enter here into an analysis of the extent to which such measures led to real unification or just resulted in the reshuffling of the same number of vocations).

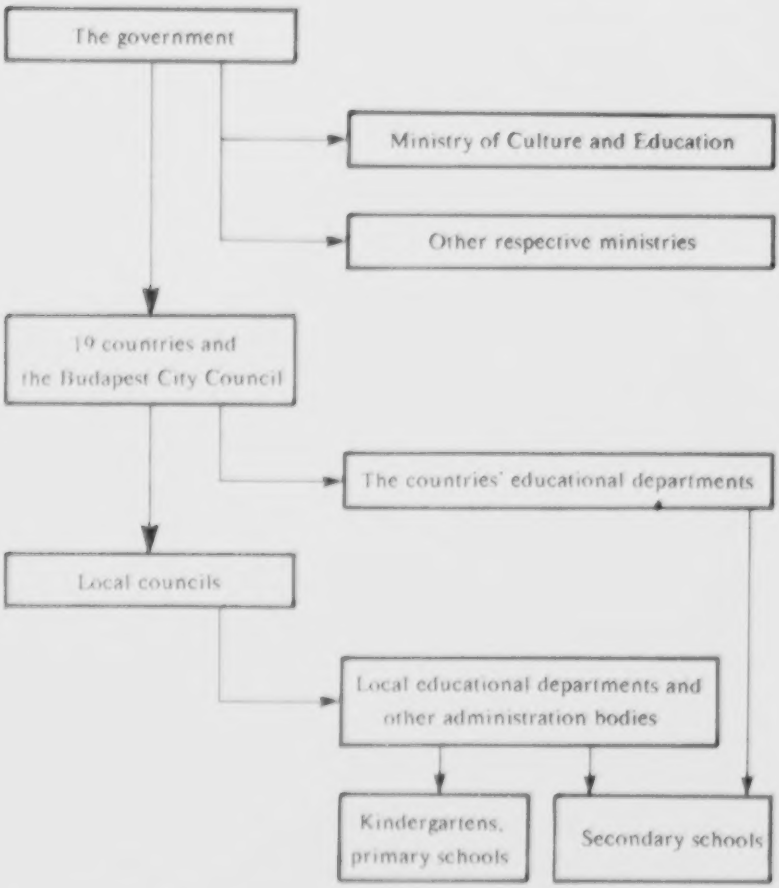
This internal diversification process is persistently reproduced in other aspects of the education system, e.g. in the subject structure of school curricula or in the number of options offered in higher education. Occasionally it takes a real inflational character and then provokes strong unifying counter-reactions. Although this pendulum movement has clear social and economic determinants, we do not feel it can be assimilated as a whole to the main trend of diversification. To the extent that further in-depth study of these internal changes led to a better understanding of their determinants, the linkages between internal and out-of-school diversification could also be clarified.

3.3 Ideology has put emphasis on the cultural rise of the working class as a distinguished task of the socialist state. In the post-war years, this meant breaking the cultural hegemony of the ruling classes, developing the values of the proletarian culture and equalizing cultural levels. This was called—as mentioned above—the socialist cultural revolution. The nationalization of the schools, and the breaking of the educational monopoly of the previous, compromised ruling elite served this ideological and political aim. In addition to the most important instruments of the cultural monopoly of the state, i.e. its financial administrative monopoly, ideological severity has also played an important role during the past forty years. Furthermore, while the past two decades of the building of a socialist society have been characterized by an increasing tolerance on the conceptual side and greater realism on the practical level, the most important fundamental principles of educational policy, summarized below, have been maintained:

a) Educational policy is centralized and uniform. Deciding its overall direction is the task of the main political force of the Hungarian People's Republic: the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The chief aim of educational policy is the massive propagation of socialist ideals.

b) The unity of educational policy is guaranteed by a hierarchic system of educational administration. Within the previously outlined context, spontaneous activity up to the degree determined by the prevailing general political authority is legitimate.

c) The general conceptual unity and the centralized nature of educational policy is manifested in the fact that the institutions of public education and of cultural activities are under State direction. This direction is strengthened by the overall financial responsibility and administrative role of the State. The direct administrators of the institutions of public education are the administrative organs of the residential areas, the so-called 'councils'. The councils receive a part of their revenues from higher units of administration, i.e. from the county councils, who receive funds directly from the State budget. But they have the overall responsibility to finance and administer the various institutions, including teachers' salaries, as well as capital investment. Another part of the revenues of the councils comes from different taxes and from payments made by institutions. *Figure 5* shows the pattern of the administration of education.



Source: Development of Education 1981-1983, Budapest, 1983, p.14.

Figure 5: Organigram of educational administration in Hungary

The direct professional leadership of the institutions is somewhat separated from the financial management in that it is provided by the network of school inspectorates. The responsibility of governing and maintenance is accompanied—as is widely recognized today—by a certain degree of overregulation. A relic of the former model of planning by directives is manifested in the uniform central regulation of schools, in the uniform and compulsory nature of the curricula, and in the central control of school procedures. At the time of writing this study, it is generally felt that parents have less than the desirable formal possibility to participate in the work of the institutes of education. This is one of the directions in which the school system will be developing, according to the new education law passed in 1985.

d) Resources for the development of public education get to the users through the redistribution system of the budget. This provides a wide margin of manoeuvre for central administration, enabling it to concentrate on the most vital needs and on national priorities, while limiting the direct participation of the users in the development of teaching and education at the grassroots level.

e) Educational planning, in the traditional sense of the term, serves the most general aims of educational policy, attempting to co-ordinate demands of the population and forecasts of the labour market. In the determination of the input and output factors of the system of regular education the requests of national economy receive priority. This goes together with the typical tension in educational planning which emerges in periods of intensive economic development: the possibilities offered by educational planning are felt to be too tight in relation to parental and social demands. We think this 'tension' is one of the determining factors of the diversification of education.

f) The general principles of educational policy also hold true for the direction of supplementary education. They are extended outside the regular day-time education to adult education, and to education within the framework of cultural centres. Naturally, the regulation of the educational activity of the latter is less definite than that of the regular institutions of education. Even weaker is the effect of educational policy and planning on the various non-regular forms of education. These, as defined in Chapter 1, include informal education activities, much of which, by their very nature, escapes the scope of direct State patronage—e.g. peer group interactions, early childhood family socialization, etc.

4. The first wave of diversification of education: the creation of the system of supplementary education

4.1 From 1945, the year of the liberation of Hungary from Nazi occupation, to the end of the 1960s, hundreds of thousands of people were transfered from an agricultural environment, with its backward technology, to an industrial one. It was necessary to make up for the insufficient general culture of the workers (although adult illiteracy was not significant even at the beginning of this period) by giving vocational training. The education of the new economic and political leading cadres was another important part of this huge transformation. Naturally, the inherited system of education was not suited to these tasks. Therefore, parallel with the development of regular day-time schooling, evening courses were begun to provide education for tens of thousands of working people. In this respect, diversification certainly had a compensatory function—it added what had been missing from pre-war educational policy. In Hungary one can find numerous memoirs written about what it was like to be kept from school and learning, and about child labour resulting from conditions of poverty.

Furthermore, the deficiencies of the school infrastructure (which could not receive the full mass of the school-age children, especially in the early period) were another reason for developing education outside the school.

Finally, special forms of diversification arose because the nature and scale of the demands for education could not be satisfied by the traditional schools. Emphasis was placed on urgency due to the crying need for cadres which could not wait to be satisfied by the highly structured and time-consuming process of schooling. For this reason, abridged types of education, for issuing certificates, were created (the so-called 'specialized matriculation examinations') which had the same value as the full-time classes. When it was found that the newly-registered masses of children had difficulty meeting the demands of full-time regular education, the internal requirements of traditional education were relaxed temporarily. This internal 'loosening' of traditional education may therefore also be considered as linked to the diversification process.

The first large wave of diversification of Hungarian education was thus the result of the rapid transformation of the country's social structure and the accelerated process of its industrialization, which was part of a programme of extensive economic development. Specific dimensions of this historical move shall be discussed later in this chapter.

This first wave of diversification—whose most characteristic form was the development of a substitute or parallel system for full-time schooling—is in many ways connected with the second wave of diversification. On the one hand, the first wave was intended to make up for centuries' worth of deficiencies almost overnight: a basic problem of inorganic historical development. Thus, thanks only to the revolutionary fervor of the time, could one expect a large number of the needs to be satisfied. But, in reality, the first wave also created new demands directly leading to the second wave of diversification. A wide stratum of the Hungarian population could not get the necessary skills to cope with modern organization, did not internalize the value for high-level achievement needed for the new economic development and could not master the more sophisticated know-how required for the new social life. Due to the rapid restratification of social structures, an important layer of the population found itself in a state of transition with a feeling of being unsettled.

The first wave of diversification also left behind an infrastructural framework for the second wave to follow. The system of institutions—together with its organization, building, staff and professional experience—that developed during that period proved able to satisfy new requirements. (By "system of institutions that developed in that period" we refer mainly to the afternoon and evening use of day schools for adult education purposes).

In relation to everyday practice, all this means that regular schooling and the supplementary education system, and for that matter the teacher and student joining the non-regular educational system, found themselves in the same classroom. This became natural and was accepted by society. Learning while working has become a normal constituent of Hungarian culture. During the first wave of diversification, the intentions of a revolutionary cultural policy coincided with the personal aspirations of individuals. The needs of a fundamentally-changing economy were reflected in the individual demands of the population. This coincidence of motivations between state policy and private demand can be considered to be the driving force and the legitimizing basis of this first wave.

The creation of the parallel adult school system during the first wave—even if it lasted for nearly two decades—was considered to be provisional. It had been decided to expand the existing school system, to satisfy massive educational demand. In addition, it was believed that the foresight provided by a planned economy makes it possible to forecast the composition of manpower demand. Consequently, the system of administration to do this was also developed. In the long run, the qualifications of the

students leaving the day schools would correspond to the future requirements of the national economy, thus reducing the demand for additional training. In line with these ideas, it was foreseen that the supplementary system would be in part provisional until regular education was able to perform its enlarged tasks. (We say "in part" because the worker attending an evening school was among one of the central images of the descriptions of the socialist future during that early period). Indeed, again in the mid-1960s, several Hungarian specialists forecasted the decline of adult education in the country. A considerable decrease did occur in the late-1960s, but the early-1970s saw a somewhat belated revitalization of adult school education, related to a shift of emphasis in the country's economic and social policy towards the large industrial firms and the concentration of the working class there. This trend persisted until 1974-75.

In conclusion, the most direct cause of the first wave of the diversification of education, that is, of the creation of the supplementary network to the regular school system, is that the inherited system was unable to meet the new social and economic demands for education.

4.2 Let us now look at the extent of adult education and the basic forms of its present organization. The so-called workers' schools are usually connected to general day schools, i.e. to the 8-year basic education. Adults can enrol individually, with the consent of their firms. In more recent years those studying in vocational courses run by enterprises have had the opportunity to prepare for the examinations in subjects from the vocational courses and the general schools simultaneously. For this reason, preparatory general education has been organized within the framework of the vocational courses, but the examination itself must always be taken at the adult school.

In the two types of secondary school (general and vocational), 4-year evening or correspondence courses are organized for adults (although not in all subjects). The expected pre-requisite is eight years of general school.

Those who have completed 3-year vocational schools and wish to continue their studies in a vocational secondary school corresponding to their previous training, can prepare themselves for the qualifying examination in 3 school years. Those who have already taken their final examination at either kind of secondary school and wish to complete their studies in a field different from their original specialization may take a complementary final examination after two school years.

There is no adult education in the 3-year vocational schools. The possibility for this type of training only exists within the system of courses organized by enterprises and co-ordinated and supervised by the national authorities for manpower supply and the economic ministries

In institutions of higher education—in many fields, although not in medicine or arts—there are evening or correspondence courses for adults.

The duration of education is the same or longer than for day courses. The qualifications achieved in the evening courses have—pro forma—the same value as those at the day courses. The importance of diversification can be measured by the fact that in 1980 the proportion of adults from among all students was 36.7 per cent.

4.3 *Table 9* gives a general overview of the *dynamics of adult schooling*, the evening and correspondance classes of the basic general schools had the highest attendance between 1962 and 1964; then, after a temporary drop, following its joining with the vocational courses given by the firms, the number of students increased again in the mid-1970s. In the past few years enrolment has been low, because the vast majority of the working-age population, especially those below 40 years of age, have completed the 8-year general school.

Table 9: Number and percentage of students in the adult school system

	Workers' Schools (8-year general schools)	Vocational secondary schools	General secondary schools	Higher education
1950	30.0[1]	9.6	2.6	5.9
1960	99.3	54.2	31.4	15.2
1970	21.2	68.6	45.2	26.7
1980	21.9	95.1	35.2	37.1
1984	12.3	64.7	22.2	36.7
		Percentage of total number of students[2]		
1950	2.4	17.1	5.0	18.2
1960	6.5	53.4	22.5	34.1
1970	1.8	38.3	26.8	33.1
1980	1.8	45.5	28.3	36.7
1984	0.9	33.7	21.2	58.0

[1] Estimate

[2] Percentage of adult students within all students of the respective level (i.e. figures of *Table 6* and *Table 9* together)

Source: *Adult Education in Hungary, 1970-1980; Education and Cultural Conditions in Hungary, 1960-1980; Statisztikai Tájékoztató*, Muvelódési Minisztétirum, Budapest, yearly

Similarly, enrolment in the evening and correspondance courses of both types of secondary schools together, was already high in the mid-1960s, and then from the mid-1970s on enrolment remained high until 1980. The record year was 1975, when there were 175,100 students in the adult secondary schools (of which 58,200 were enrolled for general education) representing 45.8 per cent of all secondary school students!

The high percentage of adults in general secondary education (28.3 per cent in 1980) is primarily explained by the declining interest in day general secondary schools. Competition has become very keen for the limited number of 'gymnaziums', mainly located in the big towns, and with a good record for promotion to higher education. On the other hand, the rest of the 'gymnaziums', especially those in smaller towns, have had increasing difficulties in recruiting new students.

In the 1980s—due in part to demographical reasons—enrolment in the secondary day schools has increased, while at the evening and correspondence classes there has been a considerable drop. In 1984, enrolment was only 66.7 per cent of what it had been in 1980, and a mere 49.6 per cent of the 1975 figure. The decrease in enrolment was also influenced by the devaluation in the public's opinion of the certificates issued at the evening or correspondance classes.

The function of secondary schools for adults has also changed: presently the clientele is mainly composed of graduates from vocational schools and of people who have a secondary level vocational school certificate but who enroll for further training in a different field of specialization. One could therefore say that the function of adult schooling has become more corrective, as opposed to complementary.

Enrolment in the evening and correspondance classes of *higher education* reached one peak in the mid-1960s and then a slightly higher one in 1976, with 46,000 students. Since then, enrolment has gradually been decreasing.

Within the framework of *post-graduate education* nearly 4,000 people receive a diploma each year. In 1983, this figure was 5.6 per cent higher than in 1980, and 47.8 per cent higher than in 1970. Preparation for a specialized post-graduate diploma is the logical completion of higher education, but as it takes place after beginning a job, in Hungary this form of education is considered part of adult education.

In 1982, there were also 576 students working for a special degree, within the organization of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This number of 'aspirants', as they are called in Hungary, has remained nearly the same since 1970.

During the past 15 years, adult education has gradually been transformed from a condensed substitute for day school into a full-fledged system that provides its clients with knowledge and skills and improves their real chances of finding a suitable occupation.

Throughout this explanation of the dynamics of the enrolment figures, or the changes in the functions of various forms of adult education, it must be borne in mind that adult education in Hungary is subject to planning, administering and financing by the State. (This was our main rationale for classifying it as a supplement to regular education). What deserves further analysis is the precise role played by planning in the course of events reflected in our Tables. It was in the mid-1970s that researchers and planners realized the discrepancy that existed at that time between the rigidity of planning enrolment quotas and resource allocations in regular full-time education on the one hand, and the relative flexibility which characterized the planning of adult education. It was also at that time that the thousands who had not succeeded in entering a day school or university swelled the numbers of the evening and correspondence classes. They also may have preferred the flexibility of requirements, as opposed to the rigidity found in full-time schools. In this peak period of the first wave of the diversification, the central political will played—as we have already mentioned—the leading role. However, systematic planning proved unable to fully control the whole process and thus the balance of state planning and individual aspirations got somewhat distorted: the essentials of the second wave of diversification thus already appeared at the peak moment of the first one.

This may seem to imply that the planning of regular education was 'right' (because it did not lead to very dramatic imbalances), whereas that of adult education was 'wrong'. This is not necessarily so. It has been pointed out in recent debates on the future course of Hungarian educational policy that the excessively low priority given to general secondary education and the strict quotas for higher education led to a very high demand for their adult education equivalents. In other words, the supplementary system fulfilled a compensatory and corrective function not so much in relation to the regular system as vis-a-vis the fallacies of its planning.

With these remarks our intention is to point to the fact that even in a centrally-planned educational system the factors outside the sphere of influence of the policy-makers—hard factors such as demographic data, medium ones like available resources and soft ones like conflicting goals, or in some cases, professional incompetence—play a considerable role.

One more remark on the nature of central planning is called for here. Research on centralized systems has stressed that development in these systems largely follows a pattern of alternating periods of development and stability.[11] This characteristic of central planning explains that most observable phenomena follow a cyclic pattern. Together with other facts, detailed analysis of the enrolment figures of Hungarian adult education between 1950 and 1980 confirmed this cyclic character corresponding to the alternation of 'go' and 'stop' periods in the educational policy of plan-

[11] Cf Margaret Archer, *Social origins of educational systems*, London, Sage, 1979.

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ning. Although no similar specific research has been conducted on the internal diversification issues referred to in Chapter 3, the same rule probably applies to part of these fluctuations as well.

4.4 Hitherto we have spoken only tangentially about socio-cultural institutions called 'houses', 'homes' or 'centres' of culture and education.[12] As far as education is concerned, their role is partly to supply space for supplementary education. But their primary duty is to satisfy the cultural demands of the population living in their vicinity. The network of cultural centres has been developed for this purpose since 1949. From the 1950s to the 1970s they played a double role: on the one hand, to give a local colour to agitation and propaganda activities necessitated by the socialist political and cultural revolution and on the other, to supply artistic and other cultural services. Thus, cultural centres not only hosted ceremonies, meetings and continuing education activities but they also functioned as cinemas, theatres and exhibition halls.

There is a century-long tradition of spontaneous collective cultural life and education that emerged during the slow process of bourgeois development as well as within the framework of the labour movement. The so-called 'reading circles' in villages, or those run by the trade unions, workers' choruses, the clandestine or semi-legal self-education courses of the parties of the left are the most often cited examples. Most of these activities were broken up by the equalizing unifying policy that—at the beginning of the 1950s—tried to replace spontaneous heterogeneity by imposed uniformity. The function of the cultural centres built in those days was to make workers "who had become tired of their labour successes" passive participants in a top-down 'enculturation' process.

In addition to the cultural centres, the Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge (TIT) is also a typical formation of 19th century development of bourgeois mentality, of the enlightened intellectual movement for the dissemination of scientific knowledge, which fit very easily into the cultural policy of the 1950s.

One more equally important constituent of the early socialist cultural policy was the establishment—or where such things already existed, the massive expansion—of the network of popular loan libraries, known as 'libraries of public culture'.

Table 10 shows the pace of the development of the above mentioned 'arms' of the cultural battlefront of the socialist revolution. The decline appearing in the number of houses should not be hastily misinterpreted. Budgetary data contained in *Table 11* prove that the relative importance given to these institutions has remained about the same within overall

[12] The Hungarian word *muvelodés* covers both education and culture. *Muvelodési ház* is then a house in which both kinds of activities take place. The name of the ministry in charge of the two areas is also *muvelodési minisztérium*.

policy. A process of concentration and 'generational replacement' can be detected in the figures: the first lot of houses of culture were either transformed from private homes, restaurants, barns, etc. or built under difficult post-war conditions. They must gradually be replaced with more modern and usually bigger new centres of culture. This process goes together with the regional centralization of other sectors, such as health care, trade the and regular schools themselves. Nevertheless, the numbers of participants in the more direct educational activities (people who attend lectures, those who loan books) have indeed decreased recently.

Table 10: Activities of the houses of culture and the lending libraries

	Cultural Houses						Popular Lending Libraries		
	Number of Houses				Number of participation (million)		Number of libraries (thousand)		Number of loaned books (million)
		Administered by					Administered by		
		Residential Councils	Trade Unions	Other ICS enterprises	Lectures	Cultural programmes	Residential councils	Trade Unions	
1950		433				–	1.7	2.6	–
1955		1933	230		0.04	13.98	4.5	6.2	25.8
1960		2460	310		6.92	10.27	4.7	5.1	30.2
1965	3878	2935	718	185	3.46	7.94	5.4	4.0	49.6
1970	3656	2985	530	141	4.70	6.77	5.3	4.0	54.8
1975	2805	2308	374	123	4.80	5.85	5.1	3.2	54.7
1980	2884	2177	278	99	4.66	9.00	4.9	3.6	52.0

The creation of this vast infrastructural network was a pivotal element of the cultural policy of early socialist development, conceived and managed as a supplement to the regular educational policy.

Since the 1970s, cultural centres have become more and more the institutions of the local community, the forum of the local social life. The recognition and support of spontaneous active self-education has step by step become a platform of educational policy as a result of changes at the grass-roots level. Today the houses of culture are filled with a wide variety of programmes—from the adolescents' clubs for self-learning to language courses, from amateur artist clubs to debates on foreign policy, from vocational courses run by firms to entertainment programmes. Heterogeneity is

Table 11 Budgetary allocations to the houses of culture

Year	Budgetary allocations to houses of culture (million forints)	Projection of total cultural State budget (%)
1950	-	-
1955	-	-
1960	58	7.0
1965	111	8.7
1970	148	5.9
1975	339	8.2
1980	532	8.8

also manifested in the fact that besides centres with bustling life the number of institutions with stereotyped activity that are avoided by everybody (e.g. in favour of watching television at home), is also great.

The various courses arranged at the cultural centres and those of the TIT are independent of the participants' level of education and they do not issue official certificates (although their aim is often preparation for examinations). Those enrolling choose the topic according to their sphere of interest. In 1980, according to central statistics, 230,000 persons participated in courses like this (they are among those registered as 'listeners of lectures' in *Table 10*); this number is 46 per cent higher than in 1970. In the past few years enrolment has decreased to some extent. It was about 4 per cent less in 1982 than in 1980. Enrolment in the language courses organized by the TIT enrolment has been around 60,000 in the past years.

In conclusion it may be said that the first wave of diversification of education in Hungary consisted of two major components: the creation and massive development of the adult school system and the establishment of a system of cultural houses and related institutions. In a centrally-planned run society such as Hungary since the late 1940s these should be considered policy instruments designed to supplement the traditionally most institutionalized part of the educational-cultural field, namely the regular school system.

5. The second wave of diversification of education: the expansion of non-regular education

5.1 As we have seen, the generations living between 1945 and the 1970s were compensated for the fact that they had not previously been able to carry on their studies. School-like adult education—which is often the offshoot of regular forms and of education—and a system of dissemination of culture were developed during that period. This wave of diversification reached its peak in the early 1970s.

The passing to the second wave was not a planned, conscious move. In fact, although it was generally felt that a chapter in history had been nearing its end with adult education, this time no one spoke of a new chapter or wave. Indeed, we are just now beginning to feel that the very diverse forms of out-of-school learning observed today are not just an extension of the great epoch of adult schooling but represent a real second wave of the educational diversification process.

In the 1970s the course of modernization of Hungarian society and of its economy, (or more precisely the conditions under which this modernization operated) led to a re-ordering of the system of learning in society. The key words of these conditions were: slowed-down quantitative development, emphasis on quality and effectiveness, devolution, greater room for private initiatives. Chapter 2 contains a general description of these processes.

These changes have had far-reaching effects on the ideology of education and culture. This is best illustrated by a look at the changes in the demands and aspirations of the workers.

The earlier ideal of a self-sacrificing, altruistic, disciplined worker gave way to the image of someone who is able to adjust to changing conditions, shows initiative and has a spirit of enterprise. Accordingly, the demands on leaders has also changed: the ideal profile of the hard worker, politically reliable, committed and able to keep strict discipline was exchanged for that of someone who is reliable, competent, gets along well with people and is able to independently assume responsibility and risks.

It was expected that this kind of work force would reduce the gap in technological development vis-a-vis the most industrialized countries, which by the 1970s had grown to a worrying extent. Although rapid technological changes are, in the major part of Hungary's economy, still a recognized need rather than a hard fact, the agents of the economy have been thoroughly sensitiveized to accept and look forward to such changes.

There is another kind of change to which people are increasingly sensitive. This relates to the restructuring of the economy whereby ineffective branches and companies should withdraw, or even disappear, for the benefit of the more effective ones. Here too, it is probably a case of rhetoric more than actual facts—but the few examples of industrial plants, or at least parts of them, which have actually closed down have served as warning signals.

To what extent are these changes different from those that occurred during the first wave of diversification? The changes during the first wave in most cases were greater—more decisive, more dramatic, but they only occurred a single time per generation. However, the new economic ethos implies the necessity for several such changes occurring over the individual's working life due to both technological progress and structural adaptations of the economy.

Consequently, the younger generations are more likely to change careers in their working lifetime than did previous ones. For the first time in human history the knowledge (and this is certainly true for professional knowledge) generated in the individual's lifetime surpasses in quantity all knowledge to be learned from preceding ages. Lifelong learning has indeed become a necessity and is accepted as such.

This was reflected in the steps taken by the Hungarian economic leadership in the early 1970s. The system and organization of the extension training in companies were redesigned, extended and further developed. Periodic compulsory training courses were called for in many spheres of activity.

The present generation is witnessing a decrease in inter-generational mobility. The previous large-scale transformations were composed of a massive number of cases of individual vertical mobility, as expressed by the widespread move of semi-skilled workers to the level of skilled workers, or even of those who left agriculture for industry. The technological and structural changes in today's economy instead favour horizontal mobility.

However, it should be borne in mind that the actual changes in the economy have in most areas proved to be smaller than what the people had been prepared for, along the lines discussed above. One important explanation for this is that these changes affect many social rights and principles generously established during the previous period, and to some extent touches the overall political sensitivity. Hitherto, the principles of social security and equity took priority over economic efficiency. Creating an equilibrium between these aims entails sacrifices. Notwithstanding the low

number of clear steps in this direction, such as, for instance, the total or partial closing of some industrial plants, individual flow from stagnant branches of the economy to more active ones, is as continuous as reorganizations within factories, which involve changes of occupation for many people.

The main trend is from industry to the tertiary sector, the expansion of which is a central element of modernization. It is characteristic that these changes are not accompanied by individual vertical mobility—into jobs that require higher education or skills. Rather, there are many examples to the contrary. For example, a significant proportion of drivers—especially numerous in the tertiary sector—left some qualified industrial jobs for the steering wheel; even a large number of university graduates can be found in the most lucrative driving jobs (taxi, international transport).

Our statistical system does not allow us to single out the proportion of those who participate in the different forms of education as a direct consequence of horizontal mobility. In the same way, it is not possible to identify the kinds of learning opportunities that are primarily induced by horizontal mobility: adult schools, vocational courses (organized by the enterprises) or some forms of informal education. Thus, learning as a consequence of horizontal mobility and the education of those remaining in the profession are mixed in our statistics.

Table 12 shows that while in 1960 the number of participants in vocational courses was inferior to the number of learners at the adult schools, the opposite is true for the early 1980s. These courses include training that leads to a 'semi-skilled' or 'skilled' workers' qualification (which corresponds to the level attained by the 3-year regular vocational school), or provides further vocational training (or re-training) without recognized formal qualifications. The category covers a wide range, from courses lasting for a couple of years using school-like methods and expectations, to the almost individual preparation for a qualifying test.

At the beginning of the 1950s, in the period of rapid re-education discussed in Chapter 4, the number of participants in vocational courses was about 250,000 each year. Later this number dropped and did not even reach an annual figure of 100,000 between 1955 and 1959.

In the 1960s, when as a result of the reorganization of the agricultural sector, a large number of workers moved to the sectors of industry and the services, the number of students in courses rose steadily and remained around 200,000 until the mid-1970s. In the second half of the 1970s—especially as a result of the decrees calling for periodic extension education—330,000-340,000 persons enrolled in different courses. This increase in enrolment was strongest among non-manual workers.

The statistics on vocational courses for non-manual workers include the further training of graduates of colleges and universities except for two categories—post-graduate university education and the training of managers.

Table 12: Comparison of the two basic forms of adult education, 1960-1963 (in thousands)

Year	Enrolment in evening and correspondence education	Total	Enrolment in vocational courses: Trainees for manual vocations	Enrolment in vocational courses: Trainees for non-manual vocations
1960	200.0	138.7	117.6	21.1
1970	161.8	206.7	140.1	66.6
1980	189.3	343.3	206.6	136.7
1983	151.0	323.5	191.4	132.1

Source: *Education and Cultural Conditions in Hungary, 1960-1980; Statisztikai Tájékoztató*, Muvelodési Minisztérium, Budapest, Yearly; *Tanfolyami Szakoktatás*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, yearly.

Table 13 gives an idea of the relative importance of these two types of training as from 1980 (before that year the available data does not allow us to compare them).

Table 13: Completion of post-graduate courses and manager training courses, 1980-1983 (in thousands)

	Post-graduate professional courses	Manager training courses
1980	56.9	20.5
1983	68.7	27.1

Source: *Tanfolyami Szakoktatás*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, yearly.

Systematic professional training of leaders (managers) began in the second half of the 1960s, but only gradually became generalized. In recent years, 20,000 to 30,000 managers participated in courses each year; for about two thirds of them it was not the first training of this kind. An analysis of the content of these courses demonstrates that today professional skill and talent for leadership are considered just as important as political reliability.

5.2 How do all these statistics relate to the total population figures? According to a representative sample survey applied to 0.5 per cent of the active wage-earning population in 1981, an average of 4.5 per cent of the population studied in addition to holding a job, 2.1 per cent of them within the framework of adult schooling, correspondance and evening classes and 2.4 per cent within the framework of courses organized by enterprises. (These data were collected by the Central Statistical Office).

The proportion of women is greater than men both in the adult school system and in the courses. The difference between the activity of males and females is especially striking in the under-30 age group—6.6 per cent of the men and 8.4 per cent of the women in this age group participate in some form of education.

Most of the students under 30 prefer education in adult education schools whereas students above 30 prefer courses. Consequently, two thirds of the students in evening and correspondence schools are under 30, while the proportion of this age group in courses is 31 per cent; 56 per cent of the participants in courses belonging to the 30-44 year age group.

According to this same survey, the incidence of studying while working is greatly influenced by the place of residence as well as by age. Nine per cent of the wage-earners living in Budapest participate in some educational activity; in villages this figure is only 2.6 per cent.

Interest in studying (or pressure to study) greatly exceeds the average among the highly educated, intellectual circles: 11 per cent of the post-graduates and 9 per cent of the secondary school graduates study and work at the same time. A few examples, however, are striking: for example 12 per cent of those who have finished the 2-year general school of shorthand-typing after the eight years of general school continue their studies, almost all of them wishing to continue to study in secondary schools while they work. Most of the university graduates prefer to enrol in various courses (as opposed to taking evening and correspondance classes in schools); the same is true for the active wage earners who have graduated from secondary schools, but continue their studies.

As for the manual labor force, 3.2 per cent of the skilled workers, and an additional 2 per cent of the semi-skilled continue their education while working, while unskilled and agricultural workers almost never undertake organized studies in addition to their jobs.

5.3 The progress of non-regular education has not been one of quantitative expansion alone. Its organizational forms have also developed. A major step was the establishment of educational centres by sectors of the economy which organize courses according to the requirements of companies. Occasionally such centres may take care of the teaching of manual workers, but usually they are used for purposes of specializing, updating and supplementing the knowledge of intellectual workers. Furthermore, they play an important role in the co-ordination of the content and

methods of non-regular vocational education within specific economic branches and in defining the subject matter of instruction. In order to do this they must also get involved in conducting some research, and editing and publishing. In the same way, the training of managers was also organized at several levels, at the peak of which the National Centre for the Extension Training of Leaders was established.

On the other hand, some large companies have also directly paid increasing attention to educational matters. Elements of rivalry with the regular education system and desire for autonomy were evidently present in this development. This played an important role in that one of the central elements of the 1982 Party stand on education was the proposal to emphasize more than ever before special vocational education as the task of the companies.

The present complexity of the organization of courses is illustrated in *Table 14*.

Table 14: Participants in courses by agents of organization, 1983 (in thousands)

Organizer of education	Number of students
Ministries, supreme authorities	26.8
Regional and city councils	36.3
Companies, trusts	125.1
Co-operatives	12.8
Centres for further training	126.4
Centres of higher education	12.0
Secondary schools	9.5
Vocational schools	25.8
Other institutes of education	3.7
Other organs	43.7
Total	422.1

Source: *Tanfolyami Szakoktatás*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, yearly.

The total figure is at less than 1 per cent variance with the total number of participants of all three kinds of courses in Tables 12 and 13. This difference has technical explanations, mainly related to the different sources of information.

This Table 14 also shows that the organization of various training courses for updating knowledge and skills of workers has been developed and affects great masses of the population—in fact a greater number than

may be desirable. At the end of 1982, the government found that the working hours taken up by refresher courses had passed the limit which the national economy can tolerate and invited the responsible authorities to decrease the number and duration of various courses. Evidently, as the Government did not question the necessity of training courses, the aim was not to reverse the trend but to stop abuse.

5.4 The figures on the preceding pages have shown that in the second wave of the diversification of education in Hungary education by courses became more widespread than the adult school system. *Table 15* illustrates the trends contained in *Tables 12 and 13*, by omitting the data relating to first-level education from the first two columns.

Table 15: Enrolments in the three major kinds of organized education (2nd and 3rd levels), 1960-1980 (in thousands)

Year	Regular education	Adult schooling	Courses
1960	310.0	100.8	138.7
1980	429.8	167.4	420.7
1980/1960	1.39	1.66	3.03

Source : *Conditions in Hungary 1960-1980*, Budapest, 1983; *Tanfolyami Szakoktatás*, Kozponti Statisztikai Hivatal, Budapest, yearly.

The shift from formal towards non-formal education is clear, and, within the latter from evening school classes to courses. This shift is the most important characteristic of the second wave of the diversification of education.

But how does this process relate to the regular/supplementary/ non-regular triad? It would not be fully correct to identify the spectacular trebling of courses in 20 years with the withdrawal of central educational planning.

First of all, the system of education by courses, including the establishment of its infrastructure, has largely been developed by the State. In the 1950s and 1960s the State took charge of almost every major movement in the field of manpower recruitment and training. Thus opting for courses instead of lengthier school forms was taking place under the umbrella of the integrated policy for education and manpower reproduction. It is only in the last few years that the reform of the economic mecha-

nism significantly relegated certain means and responsibilities for manpower policy to the enterprises. But although in *Table 14* the second largest organizing agent of all courses is the companies and trusts, most of the courses completed in 1983 were still designed at the central level. On the whole, the companies, trusts, co-operatives and other economic units have been characterized by a 'wait-and-see' attitude during the last several years of preparation of a new economic mechanism. The rights already relegated to them have been used by some for a few daring and publicized moves (such as establishing joint undertakings, discovering new export markets, selling under-utilized premises, opening new branches, etc.), but the period still possessed too many uncertainties to favour such long-term investments as a massive investment in vocational courses.

By the nature of their programmes, the post-graduate courses reported in *Table 13* are integral parts of the supplementary system. University and college post-graduate education is the direct extension of regular education, and their expansion is an indication of the strengthening of the top level of the regular system. And yet we find the increasing figures for post-graduate education typical of the second wave of diversification inasmuch as they defy the rather static concept of knowledge which was typical of the first wave. Indeed, this expansion emphasizes the relative value of learning in the face of the various kinds of contemporary changes. Also it is important to note that among the participants of the post-graduate courses the proportion of teachers receiving further teacher training and upgrading varied between 45 and 65 per cent during the period between 1980 and 1983.

To sum up, the actual trend of diversification of education which brought about a shift from the formal to the non-formal in the field of organized manpower training and retraining has, in Hungary so far, not produced in the same field a decisive shift from the regular cum supplementary to the non-regular. It is very likely that in the future more responsibility and initiatives—not to mention the costs—will be assumed by the enterprises, and State intervention will settle at a lower level.

5.5 The growing number of courses undoubtedly testifies to a growing need for new knowledge, elicited by economic and social changes. But one can also identify examples of learning-teaching activities whose final objective is not necessarily to satisfy the real demand for knowledge.

In fact this is a more general phenomenon which can be observed in the whole area of vocational training. Several analyses have indicated that the redundant nature of the programmes of vocational training—and this applies to regular schooling, as well—do not serve primarily the acquisition of knowledge and skills, but the broader objective of professional socialization. The young worker should identify himself with his job and speciality as strongly as possible. This aim is not always clearly stated, but it generally relates to the educational process as a whole, to the overall climate

surrounding the manifest curriculum and to the pedagogical ethos of the training. The above analyses further argue that in numerous areas of education, the development of a professional identity is the main function that is hidden behind the cover of factual transmission of knowledge and practical skills.

In the increasingly dynamic economic context of Hungary the survival of the concepts of professional identity and faith, which were customary at the beginning of the century, are an anachronism. However, in an economy which is characterized by a chronic lack of manpower, this time-honoured hidden function of vocational education is still useful in the process of getting and keeping manpower. This leads the companies to do the following:

a) They are induced to attract the missing manpower by emphasizing internal professional career projects, even if simple technical teaching would be sufficient from the point of view of both technological and organizational development.

b) Paradoxically, at the same time there is latent unemployment within the company, which is often the result of fluctuating transitional prosperity. The company is afraid of sending away the excess workers, and chooses training as the best alternative.

c) One of the reasons for internal unemployment is the fear of real external unemployment. The control of average wages offered some protection against this, forcing companies to keep a sufficient number of employees at low wages if they wanted to pay their best employees and managers high wages. (From the beginning of 1985 this regulation ceased to exist in a number of companies). The wages of those who study for a longer periods outside the enterprise or who attend internal special courses can be justly kept at a low level.

These practices were present to various extents during different periods and in different branches of companies. They certainly had a positive effect on the expansion and diversification of education programmes. Furthermore, the behaviour of the companies has its own rationale, and the employees are benefitting from it, even if at the level of national economy it is somewhat dysfunctional.

Another determinant of the development of courses has to do with the fact that education—independently of the factual content—is considered as a filter—a test of fitness, endurance and potential aptitude by both employers and institutes of higher learning. In Hungary, for example, it is widely believed that physics is included in the entrance examination to medical schools not because its role in medicine is increasing, but because the difficulty of the subject makes it a good device for testing.

In spite of the previously-mentioned repeated tendencies towards specialization, it may be said that, on the whole, integrative processes prevail in regular secondary education. Thus, employers are presented with young men and women who have received more general education and whose specific aptitudes can be identified less easily on the basis of school

certificates than was previously the case. The weakening of the predictive force of the certificates is another stimulating factor for employers to require further filters after graduation from traditional schools. This also adds to the increase in the number of courses, evening schools, etc., without emphasis on the increase of knowledge.

5.6 When we survey the forms of learning conducive to better work performance and better chances for employment, we must not make the error of equating learning with organized education. We feel strongly that the importance of incidental or often spontaneous acquisition of knowledge in groups or individually, or in Coombs' words, of "informal learning" rivals the other forms of non-regular education.

It is a consequence of the nature of informal learning that it avoids the attention of analysts, of those defining educational policies as well as that of planners. How then can the range and effect of this type of learning be judged?

The oldest form of education that supports working ability was the so-called 'on-the-job' learning, where imitation plays an important role. Its established recognition is reflected in the traditional systems of probation and apprenticeship. As long as production exists, spontaneous self-education and re-education on the job will also exist, although it seems probable that the importance of on-the-job learning will be slowed by the high level of the social division of labour and the institutionalization of the division of knowledge. The forms of social life whereby the young generation had to learn the 'tricks of the trade' generally by watching others and where imitative role acquisition replaced institutionalized socialization have ceased to exist.

Nevertheless, in addition to acquiring technological knowledge, young people nowadays also become familiar with the economic, organizational and planning aspects of the given production unit on the job. This in fact is the precondition for making the participation of the workers possible. Presently, the level of participation of the workers in the management of the firm is not as high as it could be; consequently, education for participation cannot be considered satisfactory in Hungary. This is proven by the fact that firm-management has been re-organized since 1985, the direction of reform now being towards increased participation and self-management. Among others, management rules call for 'production meetings' organized by the trade unions about every six months, where the main questions regarding the economic management of the firm must be disclosed to the workers. More often than not these meetings end up in discussions concerning working conditions. In the future, it is expected that the collectives will have a greater voice, going as far as to electing the director of the firm.

The most direct example of 'informal' self-education, however, is the 'consumption' of professional books and special programmes on radio and

television and the reading of professional journals. Visiting professional exhibitions and fairs play a similar role. These phenomena can be measured statistically and can be compared in time and space. This will not be discussed in detail here; nevertheless we wish to mention that the diversification of education can be approached and analyzed from this perspective, too. For example, the sociological studies of reading habits in the past twenty years and the analyses of individuals' time schedules have shown that the proportion of time spent on reading fiction has decreased, while the time spent reading non-fiction and professional literature has increased. Similar changes can also be also observed regarding the publication and purchase of books. *Table 16* indicates a relative increase in such kinds of journals and books which are likely to contribute to professional knowledge.

Table 16: Growth of professional literature (millions of copies published)

Year	All books	Professional books	All journals	Journals appearing monthly or less frequently
1950	20.1	1.7	-	-
1970	46.9	3.3	370.2	78.2
1975	73.9	4.7	431.4	97.0
1980	94.7	8.2	504.2	113.2
1980/1970	2.02	2.48	1.36	1.44

Source : *Education and Cultural Conditions in Hungary, 1960-1980*, Budapest, 1983.

Another characteristic of diversification is the professional societies formed by university graduates, where they enrich and exchange their knowledge within the framework of non-formal forms of education (attending lectures, itinerant congresses, conferences). The numbers of these events greatly increased in the 1970s, one of the reasons being that these meetings serve not only as professional forums, but also as forms of socio-political publicity.

Self-learning for entrepreneurship is another characteristic form of continuing education and re-education that is just beginning to find its way in Hungary. Since the limitations put on small scale individual enterprises were relaxed and private enterprise stimulated in the fields that are the most useful for the society—that is with the conscious enlargement of the 'second economy' within controlled limits—a certain craze for enterprises can be observed in Hungary today.

Table 17: Growth of the numbers of the new forms of economic units called 'small enterprises'

	1982	1983	1984
In-firm economic work collectives	2 775	9 192	18 178
Co-operative professional groups	477	1 243	2 424
Out-of-firm economic work collectives	2 341	4 741	7 873
Small co-operatives	145	255	393
Civil-law associations	-	-	190

Source: *Heti Vilaggazdasag*

Table 17 shows the importance of this trend. The various categories differ in the extent of economic autonomy; none of them existed—at least not in their present form—before 1980. The total, according to the weekly magazine Heti Vilaggazdasag (the source of the data in Table 17) was around 350,000 participants by the end of 1984, but only about a quarter of these represent full-time occupations. At the beginning, the establishment of the small enterprises was encouraged by favourable financial regulations, the majority of which had ceased by 1985.

Parallel with the birth of the small enterprises was the growth in the number of traditional private artisans, shopkeepers and other small enterprises—rarely with more than two or three employees—even if quite a few of them reached a size comparable to that of the new type of small enterprises.

Tens of thousands of people have considered the possibility of some new supplementary or main occupation. Gathering information itself about this is a learning process. Thousands of people start an enterprise which goes together with serious self-learning in most cases. New professional skills do not necessarily have to be acquired because in the new economic working teams most of the participants carry on their original profession—either after working hours or within new frameworks—organized more loosely and more independently. Designers continue to design, mechanics to repair, tailors to sew, waiters to serve in a restaurant. But a new form of organization of work must be learned. Naturally, there are also a great number of people who enter into something new and, in addition, have to learn the 'tricks of the trade' first—how to produce radish under foil covering, how to introduce sellers of used cars to potential buyers, how to sell fashion articles, etc.

Professional learning with the motivation of entering the second economy has another important element. Everyone starting a new enterprise must learn uniformly the foundations of *responsible management.*

They must achieve a level of planning, bookkeeping, legal and financial knowledge through self-education which few of them could attain as employees. The effects of this knowledge is then felt in their main jobs, at home, etc., that is, within a much wider circle. We think this additional knowledge acquisition is an important (and under-rated) benefit for the national economy.

In the sub-chapters 5.2 through 5.5, we listed the factors in the economy of the 1980s which make the 'learns-it-as-a-youth, uses-it-as-an-adult' model of learning outdated. The main causes were found in technological development, in changes in the economic policy and in the overall necessity of adjustment to modernization. The consequences were a clear shift towards the non-formal modes within organized education, and an overall shift towards non-regular forms, entailing an upsurge in informal learning.

5.7. At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that the new phase of economic development created new expectations for its agents. This new ideal generated new pedagogical aims for regular education as well. Instead of the passive acquisition of knowledge and values, the main emphasis is now put on solving problems and conflicts, individual choices and initiatives, the acquisition of the techniques of active search for knowledge, and greater independence. The multiplicity of factors has led to the conceptual shift from *teaching* to *learning* as a central concern of education in our society. This required the relaxation of the so-called Herbartian Prussian model of education, which has a long tradition in Hungary (even if historically the term is not quite correct). We mention this direction of the internal development of regular education because we consider the internal diversification of schools—as noted in Chapter 1—to be a side-effect of the broader process of diversification.

We are of course aware that the internal diversification of schools is linked to a much wider process of change and that it affects practically every school on earth. It stems from an evolution of the concept of man (including children and adolescents) which reflects recent sociological and anthropological developments which are in turn connected to the global process of democratization which seems to have reached its peak in the 1970s. However, in every society there have been specific catalysts or conveyers which permitted these processes and facilitated their transformation into a new pedagogy. In Hungary, it was the reform of the economy which acted as one major such catalyst.

As for the regular school system, there is another, although quite different aspect, which has made it prone to diversification—demography. The number of births has been very uneven in Hungary during the whole of the period covered by this study. Due to the fluctuation in the number of births, the demographic pressure on the schools has been equally uneven. The entrance of massive cohorts of children makes the develop-

ment of content and method difficult. This also means that children of these cohorts get into a relatively disadvantageous situation when going through the school system. The problems arising from the fluctuation in enrolment rate is further increased by the fact that due to regional and social mobility, more and more 'para-pedagogical' tasks (such as full-day supervision of the pupils, catering, organization of their free time, etc.) become the responsibility of the schools. This, in our mind, has important bearings on our topic. Namely, as the frontiers between pedagogical and non-pedagogical functions of the school become blurred, chances of a reciprocal influence improve: non-formal, out-of-school, lay elements find their way more easily into the regular system, which in turn improves the capacity of the school to respond to the environment as an agent of diversification.

5.8 Parallel with, and largely as a consequence of economic modernization, the Hungarian *way of life* is changing before our eyes. Individuals have to manage in situations that are rapidly changing, or cope with a variety of new problems and make new choices and decisions every day. They exercise their activities in several communities, groups and organizations with different aims and structures. The rules and operational activities of these organizations are becoming more and more sophisticated (place of work, community unions, services, recreational unions, organizations for the safeguarding groups of interests, social organizations, etc.). The above phenomena go together with an increasing variety of social relationships and role-situations. The more complex conditions of life present a greater number of conflicts, dilemmas and alternatives for the individual. To play the expected social roles and to behave constructively assumes not only 'convertible knowledge' but also a high degree of personal determination and tolerance, an ability to preserve one's identity, and at the base of it all, a clearly-conceived, well-developed system of needs and values.

This description represents the trends towards increasing technological advance and urbanization which of course are found in every society in the world, evidently at different levels of intensity and dynamism. These trends are not unrelated to the overall changes referred to in the previous section. One of the aims of socialist societies is that this process takes place in such a way that individuals and families are minimally hurt by negative aspects of it.

The modernization of the social environment has thus increased social pressure for learning since it allows only for relative points of rest, in a continuous lifelong process of socialization.

The decreasing amount of time needed for production has led to an increase in free time, which offers a place for this growing need for education. The development of the whole service sector reinforces this evolution.

The legal working week—as the most characteristic indicator of the amount of free time available—has decreased gradually from 48 hours to 40-42 hours over the past decades. (A switch to a 40 hour work week is

occuring sporadically and in certain economic branches at the time of the writing of this study). Since the 1982/83 school year, no lessons have been given in schools on Saturdays, which has immediately changed the weekly patterns of the household and increased the popularity of long week-ends.

At the beginning of the historical period under consideration here, that is, the 1940s, free time could barely be differentiated from production (on weekdays) in the life of the peasantry, which constituted the majority of the population. As the proportion of the peasants decreased and as peasants' work became more and more like industrial wage-work the separation of production from free time held true for an increasing proportion of the population. It is a result of a largely autonomous decision about how to spend one's free time, that a considerable proportion of the population in the villages choose to spend their time left after the legal working hours on agricultural work in their gardens or household plots.

At the same time, a revolutionary expansion of the possibilities of learning was brought about by new techniques in communication. The traditional network of mass communication in Hungary covers the complete network of mass communication: radio, television, daily newspapers, journals. The use of personal computers is spreading fast, which—among other things—provides a basis for a relatively new technology regarding the acquisition of knowledge. Telex, cable television and video are still in the initial stages of development.

The increase in the spending power of the population is an additional 'technical' objective condition for taking advantage of the diverse opportunities for learning. Over the past three decades of Hungarian development, the satisfaction of the personal consumption needs of the population enjoyed political priority. (The extent of actual satisfaction was naturally always limited according to the economic possibilities available at a given time).

Among consumer goods, motor-cars deserve special attention because of the important role they play in modifying life style. (Incidentally, it should be noted that the acquisition of a driver's licence is one of the most characteristic large-scale non-regular teaching-learning activity). Tourism, especially the rapidly increasing number of trips and holidays abroad, constitute a specially interesting item of consumer goods related to learning (see *Tables 4 and 5* above).

5.9 It follows that learning itself also increasingly becomes a consumer good that helps people to spend their free time. This 'purchased learning'—from actually paying the instructor to buying materials (books, cassettes, etc.)—serves partly cultural, partly recreational aims. We think it is useless to separate the two aims. Except for some extremely narrow types of entertainment, recreation generally contains the elements of the 'conservation' as well as of the development of personality—although the proportions may vary considerably from one person to another.

Language learning plays quite an important role within the category of 'purchased learning'. Proficiency in a language is an instrument of production, used by many people in their daily work. Thus, we could have spoken about it in the earlier part of this chapter as well. However, one major reason for the growing popularity of learning languages rests in the opening up of the everyday cultural life which includes increasingly frequent contacts with the people and cultural products of other countries. The other reason is that the growing demand for language proficiency is only partly satisfied by regular education.

Coaching students privately, for a fee, is another type of 'purchaseable learning'. It has a long tradition and has grown considerably in recent years. A system of coaching has developed, especially in the cities, and is utilized mostly by the children of 'leaders and intellectuals'.[1] The phenomenon may be called 'second school'—an analogy of the 'second economy' in Hungary. According to a 1982 study, the offspring of a typical 'intellectuals and leaders' family in Budapest spent almost one third of his total learning time in the 'second school'. Moreover, he has the opportunity to do this in leading 'gymnasiums' of Budapest thanks to the support of the school in organizing such activities. Naturally, the financial implications of private coaching is twofold: on the one hand, its effect on the family budget can be considerable, but on the other, it constitutes the 'second economy' of the private tutors.

The spread of 'purchased learning' with purely 'recreational' contents—including a great number of sports and physical fitness courses such as tennis, horseback riding, aerobics, conditioning gymnastics, etc.—has become significant in recent years.

The teaching-learning possibilities related to the prevention of illnesses peculiar to modern civilization and the preservation of spiritual equilibrium are related to recreation. The different forms of psychotherapeutic training are more and more widespread forms of self-education (from the telephone-doctor to the family clubs).

Another category of learning, which puts less emphasis on 'purchaseability' is the learning connected to the cultivation of interests, known as 'hobbies'. Enthusiasts of different hobbies (collectors, keepers and breeders of certain animal species, amateur artists, craftsmen, etc.) traditionally bring the generations closer together. The cultivation of certain more modern interests may have the effect, at the time, of developing age-specific subcultures.

5.10 A process of social maturity that brought about the strengthening of a more autonomous private and civic sphere constitutes another side of the phenomena described above. In this process, we at the same time observe conscious attempts of the social leadership to expand socialist democracy

[1] 'Leaders and intellectuals' is an official statistical category in Hungary.

and a relative decrease in the influence of the established institutional order due to the worldwide crisis of the old value system. A rise in the value put on individual and group initiative is one of the most important determinants of the spurt of non-regular ways of learning and teaching, as opposed to the established ways of education. This represents, in fact, the second great component of the second wave of the diversification of education, the first component being the shift from the formal to the non-formal, as discussed in the first part of this chapter. This evolution has been present in every society during the past fifteen years, even if its intensity and actual forms have been varying from one nation to another.

We have been dealing with several aspects related to the enrichment of most of the Hungarian population over the past 20 years; we should now discuss the other side of the story, which is the relative decrease in central resources. In the economy, the recognition of this reality has led to a broadening of the possibilities of individual and private initiative. The more extensive and direct division of the financial burden between the central authorities and the population can be found in other aspects of social life as well.

Housing is a good example because of its social importance and also because of the time and money invested in it. Over the past twenty years the proportion of the privately-organized building of new houses gradually increased in Hungary; thus, the proportion of privately-owned homes also increased. The State supports these investments (freehold flats, family houses) by offering numerous possibilities for loans. As far as the actual building is concerned, another important phenomenon of self-learning—which is also a component of the diversification of education—can be observed. Before starting, one has to assimilate the information concerning the organization of building a house, to know the parameters of materials, instruments, equipment and also the possibilities for obtaining the necessary materials (made difficult by shortages).

This 're-structuring of the burden' between the State and the population is a special aspect of the development of our society. The 'do-it-yourself' phenomenon covers an even wider circle, since, as labour everywhere becomes more expensive, it pays to do more and more work oneself, using instruments sold for this purpose as a separate branch of the market. Naturally, this is also a source of self-learning.

All the above-mentioned ways of learning, which developed in connection with the modernization of social institutions and lifestyles, have the common characteristic of putting emphasis on learning to handle complex social situations and relations. Such situations call for the development of a personality that can adapt to new social conditions, and therefore for a continuous, mostly non-regular, education process. (It was in this sense that the mobility from industry to the services discussed earlier usually has a positive effect on personality development, although it often goes together with 'sinking to a lower class' if the formal level of education is considered).

Learning by imitation is preserved in the socio-cultural sphere much more than in the sphere of production. In fact, one of the most dynamic processes of diversification is some kind of rehabilitation of different ways of social learning. Knowledge and skill acquisition by direct imitation is now recognized among the opportunities of individual, group, organized and spontaneous learning and is no longer reserved to the area of primary socialization. There are attempts to make it more institutionalized e.g. in the cases of amateur artistic creative activity or of the situational approach to language learning. This process goes together with the discovery of certain means of learning which had previously been largely absent from European cultures (e.g. intuitive learning, role acquisition based on empathy, etc.).

In the case of the most rapidly growing technologies, there is practically no better way than learning by direct inter-personal imitation (and learning by trial and error). The dramatic rise in the popularity of learning how to use personal computers is a breath-taking example of this.

Still concerning learning in the socio-cultural life sphere, quite frequently the process of learning itself is more important than the result; learning as an activity becomes more important than the knowledge acquired. Taking part in some collective learning-teaching experience is one way of searching for a sense of community. In the case of education of the elderly, emphasis is laid on the mental hygiene effect of the learning activity itself.

To sum up, the second wave of diversification of education in Hungary has been marked by the termination of the extensive development of the economy and by a series of reforms aimed at a more intensive, qualitative kind of progress. The importance of out-of-school learning was emphasized with renewed force by the governmental educational policy. The accent, however, shifted from evening classes equivalent to the regular day-classes, to less formal modes, to a system of training and retraining courses. Partly in parallel, partly as a consecutive step, the broadening of the room for individual initiatives, which was favoured by an intensification of the reform processes both in the economy and in the whole of society, brought about a great variety of non-formal and informal modes of social learning which, since they developed largely outside the scope of the traditional educational and cultural policy, are regarded as non-regular education.

6. Diversification of education and central policy and planning

6.1 The role played by educational policy during the first wave of diversification has become an integral part of the history of education. It is a widely accepted fact that the planning of adult school education has not been sufficiently integrated into the overall process of educational planning; the techniques and instruments used have sometimes been inferior to those applied in the planning of regular schooling and lack of co-ordination has also been frequent. We have already referred to such shortcomings in the previous chapters.

However, we find it more appropriate to focus our attention in this last chapter on the most recent challenge relating to the second wave of diversification. The major emphasis will be put on the developments in the non-regular sphere of education, and on the attitudes of the administrator and planner in relation to such development.

Hopefully, we have sufficiently demonstrated that, in the case of Hungary, regular education no longer holds the nearly-monopolistic position that it used to in providing knowledge, qualifications and patterns of culture and socialization. However, it is important to prove that—as another constituent of the second wave of diversification—the non-regular forms of education have become more and more important. It takes more than statistics to prove that a given development has not been subject to traditional policy and planning decisions.

With this in mind, we do not exclude that a re-analysis of our arguments or the discovery of additional facts might *not* support in every respect the relative importance we have given to non-regular forms of education. According to one counter-hypothesis, the real place of the regular and supplementary forms of education in the process of the distribution of knowledge in Hungarian society is *not* less significant in the late 1970s and 1980s than it was in the previous twenty years. People get this impression just because they wish to see the role of other, non-regular forms of education increase and take their desires for realities. In fact, this hypothesis does not fully contradict the view that non-regular education has been gaining ground, for in any case, an increase in attention and interest affecting non-regular education may be observed. Our tasks will

not be very much altered if it is rather the increase in interest in non-regular education that proves to be more significant than its actual expression. For such a change in the focus of interest is itself a historical fact whose causes should be further investigated.

It is, still, more difficult to prove the following hypothesis. It is accepted in almost every theoretical platform (although it may of course be labelled and explained differently) that since about the end of the 1960s, certain crises have occurred all over the world, from which no society is entirely free. In the preceding chapters we have made reference to the relationship between the diversification of education and general crisis phenomena because we believe that the two are linked. But, in addition, we should also like to look for an answer to the question of whether the fundamental determinants of the diversification process can all be explained by this period of crisis or if their roots go much deeper. For if this process is nothing more than a symptom of this period of crisis, it can be rightly assumed that when the period of crisis is over, the symptoms will disappear, and that under normal conditions, the regular school system, with its corollaries supplementing education, will regain its supremacy. In that case, the major problem will again be how to plan for its expansion and perfection.

Hence, the question is whether or not diversification is a transitional stage—that is, whether or not it is a 'temporary deviation' in the trend towards perfecting the system of organized education.

There is one kind of answer which can be given and the key here is *money*. Since the ministries of education receive a smaller share of a smaller cake, they are forced to work out a new rationale for the lean years. Is then the diversification of education not simply the ideology of 'poor' school systems?

The fact that the issue of educational diversification was brought to the world's attention roughly at the same time as the crises we have previously referred to seems to point in that direction. For the ideology of *permanent education* became widely known at the end of the 1960s. In our view, diversification of education denotes the same trend as of the concepts that arose in the 1960s, i.e. permanent education, life-long education and continuing education. The difference in the terms only emphasizes different aspects of the same phenomena.

There are, however, differences. The idea of permanent education was basically developed as part—if not the whole—answer to the worldwide crisis of education, whereas the idea of the diversification of education was born and is functioning as an educational answer to the world crisis of societies. However, as far as the emotional connotation is concerned, emphasis is on the *answer* in the case of the optimistic slogan of permanent education, while in the case of the more reserved term of diversification of education, more emphasis is put on the *description* of reality. Thus, it is understandable how the term permanent education could quickly become a slogan, a normative idea. It is somewhat paradoxical that we already spoke

of a world crisis of education in the late 1960s, prior to the discussions about the general world crisis situation. The crisis of education described by Coombs[14] refers to the inability of regular education to keep pace with the high rate of growth observed in most other fields, during the two decades of prosperity in the world economy. Permanent education became a rough synonym of the modern, human-centered, open, progressive, economical and effective educational system. (At least in places where it was not misunderstood and down-graded to a synonym for adult education).

The theory of permanent education placed man in the centre; the system of educational institutions of modern industrial societies had to be deduced from the needs of the learner. The concept of diversification is more neutral for it only describes how educational supply, utilized or not by individuals or social groups, reacts to different changes.

Naturally—when it becomes a component of educational policy-making—it is also normative to a certain degree. Thus, the diversification of education remains a concept that keeps the descriptive and normative elements in balance. It has not yet reached the point where the matter-of-fact analysis would automatically be considered to be conservative or even retrograde. Accordingly, diversification is a more recent, modest variation of the permanent education concept, which has latterly been coloured by naive optimism.

The culmination of the diversification process can only be described in broad terms. The stage in question may be called 'learning society', a concept that can be interpreted as the perfection of the idea of permanent education, but which is not fully discredited by excessive optimism. According to Marxist social philosophy, 'learning society' means the achievement of certain trends according to which, on the one hand the needs that can be satisfied by learning, training and self-education will become more and more significant, and on the other, the value of knowledge itself will increase, independently of the possibility to achieve higher social positions or greater prestige.

This definition and description directs attention not to the different forms and institutions of the learning society, but to its social conditions. Thus, it prevents us from impatiently hastening its development or prematurely announcing its arrival. For hastening the social tendencies in question is much more difficult than, let us say, developing a long distance system of education via satellite.

6.2 Let us now examine the observed or possible attitudes of educational policy and planning as regards the diversification of education. Over the past decades, national educational policies have been definitely dominated

[14] P.H. Coombs, *The world educational crisis: a systems analysis*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1968.

by expansive institutionalization and technological improvement. Diversification challenges this type of educational policy. The relationship between diversification and official educational policies may develop in many ways.

One possibility supports the counter-hypothesis we have been referring to: diversification as a symptom related to the crisis phenomena affecting the world today. After the crisis ends, educational policies will again become 'normal' and return to the strategy of expansive institutionalization of the school systems. That is to say, crisis periods correspond to educational diversification, while renewed consolidation leads to 'de-diversification'. As the disposable capital of the states grows, the flourishing development of the system of organized education will again become the dominant tendency.

According to the second possibility, diversification is more than a simple episode connected to crisis periods—it is the logical extension of the classic educational policy. The consistent development of the social system of education is a straightforward process which—in the higher phases of expansion of the system—implies a diversification of educational activities supported and co-ordinated by the State. Consequently, the classic strategy should not be rejected or re-evaluated, but rather improved and supplemented. Further expansion of the school system, raising its organization to increasingly higher levels of complexity, should be continued until its saturation, and the complementary 'diversified' forms cannot be developed at the expense of schools.

In the third case, educational policies up to now are considered as dead ends, and a fundamental re-evaluation of strategies is called for. It is a duty not only to reduce the expansion of the school system, but also to reverse—in various degrees—this process, and to orient it in another direction, namely, towards diversification. If this takes place, educational policy will follow a new path rejecting the old trend and the historical period of the institutionalization of the school system will be followed by diversification.

In the light of the above-mentioned possibilities, our views may be summarized as follows:

1. Originally, social learning took place basically in nonformal and informal, non-regular ways.

2. Over the centuries, education was gradually and consistently separated from social practice and formal institutions were developed.

3. The elements of formal education were organized in a regular system. This system became one of the most important institutions, whose expansion and perfection have carried on even in the most developed countries, until recently.

4. Non-formal and non-regular forms have always existed alongside formal and regular education. For several centuries, there was a natural division of function between the primary socialization in the societal sphere

and the secondary socialization in educational constitutions. This balance was upset by the overall expansion of the school system—which seemed at first to be successful. (This was reflected by the optimism of the idea of 'permanent education').

5. The observed diversification of the forms of education is the reaction against the expansive institutionalization of regular education. This process was catalyzed by the crisis phenomena in the world. What remains to be done is to create a new qualitative balance between regular and non-regular education. However, while the historical division of functions developed in relative harmony, the balance between institutional and other diversified forms of education has to be set in the course of constant competition.

6.3. The non-regular forms of education present a challenge to regular and supplementary education, and not only because of their greater adaptability. Although there are no detailed studies available, it can be assumed that the costs of non-regular education per person are lower than those of regular education since spending is more flexible. (The rules of budget management are quite rigid in Hungary; they have been slightly relaxed only recently). Expenses for non-regular education are free from many bureaucratic costs, since the guiding principle of non-regular educational processes is direct goal achievement, investments are not loaded with 'additional' costs, while the spreading of efficiency-improving technical devices (e.g. video-tape, personal computers, etc.) is quick and straightforward.

In our opinion, it is in the nature of the diversification of education that educational policy does not create it nor promote it unless there is no other way out. Examples of such a way out are: the availability of new financial resources, or the advent of periods of consolidation favouring social agreement. If no alternative exists, educational policy-making may take one of the following directions: either it tries to campaign against diversification out of fear that its aims and influence are endangered, or, recognizing that diversification is not necessarily a development directed against educational policy, it may conform to it. In both cases there will be a natural tendency to bring as many elements as possible from the non-regular education into the regular and to saturate non-regular forms with the aims and values of regular education as much as possible. In other words, to make the non-regular as 'regular' as circumstances allow.

This takes us back to our original definition of non-regular education as what partly or entirely remains, beyond the controlling, institutionalizing, financing, planning, etc. capacities of the educational policy-makers and administrators. Hence, if policy-making and planning extends its influence on certain existing non-regular educational activity, they by definition will cease to be non-regular.

In practice, the attitude of the educational administration towards diversification has taken various forms. Very typically, the administration simply fails to understand or even perceive the phenomenon, at least not to the level that could elicit reaction. Often the reaction is negative: refusal ("this is not my cup of tea") or prohibition ("not everything is free, and what *is* free must be regulated by us"). But, more and more frequently, it is realized that non-regular education can transmit official values and messages at no or minimal cost to the administration. This is of course a very important argument in a period of limited central resources. (The logic follows the analogy of State support to the second economy). Finally, a tiny idealistic minority of the cultural and educational apparatus are devoted supporters of diversification, just as they are supporters of any avant-garde, partisan spirited action or movement.

Provided that an interaction between the administration and some form of non-regular education results neither in its incorporation nor its extinction, the administration may maintain different forms of continued contact with it. From the point of view of the central policy-making level, these contacts may be described as 'extra-territorial actions' that is to say, as actions that apply to programmes which do not fully belong to its area of competence. Many such 'extra-territorial actions' have taken place in Hungary. If we broaden our horizon to the field of cultural policy, we may even say that they have been the dominant instrument of the administration. Indeed, many cultural and artistic activities cannot be incorporated into the spheres of any regular system.

A characteristic and quite sizeable 'extra-territorial action' of the educational and cultural policy was the obligation of the enterprises and co-operatives to establish cultural funds. This was a decision taken from above—the Minister of Finance determined the percentage of the profit of the enterprise to be set aside for cultural purposes, and the Minister of Culture established the directives for using the funds. However, very rapidly the centre was less and less able and willing to determine and control the use of these funds, and the enterprises started spending them in an increasingly varied manner. Nowadays, it is the local trade union, the youth organization or any other collective body of workers which decides whether to spend the money on excursions in the country or abroad, on Christmas parties (usually called Pine Feasts or Father Winter Ceremonies) for the children, on dinners for retired people, etc. In some cases, the cultural funds also help in meeting the educational costs of the workers' children. Traditionally they cover the expenditures of the organization of ceremonies on national official holidays. (These offer two or three opportunities a year for members of the enterprise or co-operative to get together, commemorate Liberation Day, the October Revolution, and, in some places, the 1st of May, watch a short cultural programme, hear about the latest achievements and tasks of the enterprise and applaud their colleagues who receive decorations and bonuses).

'Extra-territorial actions' in the second wave of diversification have been even less regulated. A typical example was the 'everybody's school' which was intended for those who did not have their certificates from the general (basic) school and attempted to revitalize the dwindling interest in acquiring such a certificate. The action was based on television—after broadcasting the lessons, teachers continued the explanations in the schools to interested workers, who could later sit for the examinations. This action can be seen as a methodological alternative to the regular in-school adult education, and, as such, belongs to the category of supplementary education. In spite of intensive publicity, this action yielded dismal results.

A few years later, from 1983, the television launched a new action, directed at teaching the BASIC computer language. This time the publicity was more modest and the target population less strictly defined. Examinations were organized in a similar way as in the previous example. This can be considered essentially non-regular education—although it was initiated and supported by the educational administration, it was implemented outside the regular sphere. (The certificates do not give the holder a specific vocational qualification nor does it entitle him to enter a specialized vocational school. It is worth noting that the number of participants was not much higher than in the previous case.)

With these examples, we hope to have illustrated different kinds of 'extra-territorial actions' of the cultural and educational policy. The specific orientations of successive periods have found their expression in the forms of foundations, competitions, fellowship systems, support for local initiatives, etc. We are convinced that the number of efforts at combining local initiative and extra-budgetary resources with the goals and values of the official educational and cultural policy will further increase. This will, of course, go together with an increased awareness of the need to protect the cultural monopoly of the State. It is difficult to predict which direction will be more decisive; in either case, the number and intensity of interactions is likely to grow.

6.4 Coming back to the central issue of the regular school policy in Hungary, policy-makers may answer the challenge of the past 10-15 years by choosing one of the two following alternatives:

a) The regular educational system disregards the increasingly varied social expectations about schools. It will 'clear its line' and, reaching back to its original, 19th century function, it will deal exclusively with the instruction of children, with broadening their knowledge, i.e. with cognitive development ('back to basics'). There is considerable logic in a decision like this—the 'school for instruction' could remedy some of its present shortcomings, could stop the conflicts in the roles of teachers and students, could draw a definite line between the areas inside and outside its circle of competence. The efficiency of the schools—in a technocratic sense—would probably improve, and hopefully the teaching programmes themselves

would also better comply with the different individual needs of the students.

In the debates over school development in Hungary today, this view is taken mostly by the majority of the scientific élite and the specialists interested in economic and technical development. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to say that this is the dominant trend in the press. It springs from several sources—one is nostalgia for a return to traditional values, the other is a driving desire for technocratic efficiency. These are—however weakly—connected to latent teacher discontent about their professional conditions which shows the same concerns.

In any case, in order to return to the 'school for instruction', one has to thoroughly examine and solve the numerous problems related to the caretaking of students and youth in general. In Hungary, no specific institution besides the family has developed traditionally for this purpose. Because of the prevailing model of two wage earners per family, families, however, can no longer be laden with these responsibilities. (Feeding, organization of free time, satisfaction of individual interests, care for young children with special requirements, etc.).

b) As a second option, the school assumes up the increasing social expectations, and tries to realize its internal pedagogical and professional renewal in compliance with these expectations. This requires the gradual, but definite withdrawal of the classical 'school for instruction' and the development of a new flexible 'school for socialization' that can comply with the full range of activities of young people. The aim is to develop a type of institution responsible for the satisfaction of all the secondary socialization needs of future generations. In this case, every mode of activity should be explicitly subordinated to a certain pedagogical logic. Due to the variety of activities, this logic should be different from the one used for the simple acquisition of knowledge. It should be replaced by the logic of developing the satisfaction of needs resulting from the way of life, the characteristics of age and personality. This alternative is supported by the 'progressive' teachers' opinion and by perhaps the majority of educated (middle class) parents.

If the system of public education is transformed in this direction, then the very high costs of re-training the educational staff have to be taken into account.

In both of these alternatives it is inevitable that internal differentiation of the system be considered. In the case of the first alternative, improving the acquisition of knowledge implies that the educational system becomes more responsive to the demands of different categories of learners. In the latter case, the school for socialization has to 'comply with' the full complexity of the social environment.

c) There is also a third alternative, according to which educational planning relying on traditional manpower planning should be replaced by a more comprehensive social planning of education that is closely integrated

with cultural and regional development. In this case the policy-maker intervenes in the existing social processes by setting the model of socialist education as an aim and by developing infrastructures and organizational frameworks. By doing so he ensures that the social activities governed by group interests are guided to the mainstream of the development of the whole society—thus speeding up the development process itself. According to this client-centred ideal, the participants themselves have to set their own goals and choose their means.

This conception of educational policy promises that it transcends the previous two alternatives, since it offers a natural place for the schools serving a wide range of social demands within the loose network of regular and non-regular forms of education, and without excluding the existence of the schools strictly organized for instruction. It is not very difficult to recognize the relationship of this concept with the more recent 'extra-territorial' indirect actions discussed in the previous section.

Despite its utopian features, such an ideal of the social planning of education greatly influenced Hungarian educational policy. On the one hand, the strategy of educational development, approved both by the Central Committee of the Party and by Parliament has in this spirit placed continuous qualititative development before centralized reforms. On the other hand, the strategy reserves an increasing role for local innovation and tolerates the alternative solutions that go with it.

However, the fact that the forms of educational planning that had been operating for several decades were loosened cannot of course be attributed to the influence of a few educational researchers propagating the idea of social planning. As a result of the economic and social changes discussed in the previous sections—the classical, central planning and their mechanisms gradually lost their role. With the increasing autonomy of the economic units and regional authorities, central planning now determines only the most aggregated target figures in addition to defining the basic principles. This created favourable conditions for the breakdown of the bureaucratic barriers prior to diversification. It also helped new forms of education to receive a share from the resources distributed in the course of planning. Its practical demonstration, however, is beyond the limits of the present paper.

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The book

The rapid increase of non-formal educational programmes over the past few decades has radically altered the contours of the educational field. While the school remains the dominant educational institution in general, it is now by no means the only place where individuals pursue well-defined training objectives. A whole range of other educational activities have developed outside of it and play a great variety of roles.

In its research programme on 'The diversification of the educational field' the IIEP is addressing the question of how educational planning—which was originally designed to forecast the expansion of, and organize the resources for, the school system—may be adapted to this new diversification and to the resulting new challenges facing the organization of education.

As part of this research theme, a limited number of case studies have been launched, aimed at a better understanding of the forms taken by the diversified field of education in different national contexts.

The present study on Hungary is the first one of this type. It therefore gives special attention to the discussion of the conceptual issues involved in analyzing the diversification of the eductional field. It also illustrates the urgent need to develop a good information base on the wide variety of educational activities taking place outside the formal school system.

The author

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